Wolpert Jinnah of Pakistan PVERIMITE TRANSITATION OXFORD

JINNAH of PAKISTAN

Stanley Wolpert

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for Dorothy with love

Preface

Few individuals significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation-state. Mohammad Ali Jinnah did all three, Hailed as "Great Leader" (land-i-Azam) of Pakistan and its first governor-general, Jinnah virtually conjured that country into statehood by the force of his indomitable will. It place of primacy in Pakistan's history looms like a lofty minaret over the achievements of all his contemporaries in the Muslim League, Yet Jinnah began his political career as a leader of India's National Congress and mid after World War I remained India's best "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity." As enigmatic a figure as Mahatma Gandhi, more powerful than Pandit Nehru, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah was one of recent history's most hammatic leaders and least known personalities. For more than a quarter autory I have been intrigued by the apparent paradox of Jinnah's strange story whitch has to date never been told in all the fascinating complexity of troublant light and tragic darkness.

Many people have helped make this book possible. To the late Lord Louis thombatten I am indebted for his having so generously given me a morning in the last year of his life to recall personal meetings with and impressions of Jisnah. To begum Liaquat Ali Khau I am equally indebted for her amount bospitality and assistance in Karachi. Professor Z. H. Zaidi of London University most warmly encouraged me to write this book more than a touch ago not helped in many ways, he shared his Jimah letters with me, and his own engest articles, and introduced me to his old friend and one of Jimah closest colleagues. Mr. M. A. H. Japahani, who was still living in London them. Vice-Charsceller Sir Cyril Henry Philips of London University being scarch for Jimah.

My dear friend, the late Professor B. N. Pandey of London, belped by inviting me to participate in his "Leadership in South Asia" seminar in 1974. Warmest thanks to my mentor, Professor Holden Furber, for inspiration and generous criticism.

Professor Sharif al Mujahid, the director of the Quaid-i-Azam Academy in Karachi, was most generous in assisting me during my visit to Pakistan in 1990 as a Fellow of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies. I thank him and AIPS Director Professor Hafeez Malik for all of their invaluable help. I gratefully acknowledge the aid provided by the AIPS and its board in awarding me a fellowship to complete my research in Pakistan. My sincere thanks also to Dr. Charles Boewe, Mr. Arshad, Mr. Afaqi, and Akbar, of the United States Educational Foundation in Islamabad for their kind hospitality.

Dr. A. Z. Sheikh, the director of the National Archives of Pakistan, and his fine staff were most cooperative in opening the full resources of their archives to me during my visit to Islamabad. I am especially grateful to Mr. S. M. Ikram, the microfilming and photostating officer of the NAP, for expediting the filming of Jinnah papers for me. Vice-President Khalid Shamsul Hasan of the National Bank of Pakistan in Karachi was most helpful in granting me full and immediate access in his office and home to the excellent Shamsul Hasan Collection of primary Jinnah papers. I am deeply grateful to him, and to Dr. M. H. Siddiqi, the director of the University of Karachi's Freedom Movement archives, who introduced me to his very impressive collection.

My continuing gratitude and appreciation to the librarian and staff of the excellent India Office Library in London, with special thanks to Deputy Archivist Martin Moir and to Dr. Richard Bingle, both of whom were singularly helpful in steering me toward new material. For this book I have interviewed a great number of Jinnah's colleagues and contemporaries in Pakistan, India, and Great Britain, as well as in the United States, over the past fifteen years; and although there is not space to mention each by name, I wish to thank them all for helping me to better understand this singularly secretive and complex man.

To the Rt. Hon. S. S. Firzada, the minister of law of Pakistun and chairman of the Quaid-i-Azam Biography Committee, my sincere thanks for To Admiral S. M. Ahaan I am most warmly indebted for historic insights and generous hospitality. My grateful appreciation also to Mian Munitaz Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayot, Justice Javid Iqbal, Brig. N. A. Husain, former Chief Minister of Sind Munitar All Bhotto, former Karachi Mayor Hashim Baza, and former Ambassador Mohammad Masoor, for many helpful insights concerning linual's personality.

To Lady Dhanavati Rama Rao, Srimati Pupal Jayakar, and Srimati Sheela Kalia I am deeply indebted for singularly sensitive keys to the character not only of Jimah, but of his wife and daughter as well. I thank Ved Mehta that the diating with me his father's memory of Jimash. I am most thankful to trole for Fazlur Rahman for recalling all that he did about Jimah, and to broke for Fazlur Rahman for recalling all that he did about Jimah, and to broke for Fazlur Rahman for recalling all that he did about Jimah, and to broke for Fazlur Rahman for recalling all that he did about Jimah, and to broke for California have helped me stay the course in this long and, and I especially thank Professors Damodar Sar Desai, Nikki Keddie, Julio & Galbraith, H. Arthur Steiner, Steven Hay, Peter Loewenberg, and tomail Foonawala. For the past decade and a half, my seminar students have posed useful questions about Jimah, each stimulating deeper investition into bis life and motivations; and for this I especially thank Ravi talia, Juan Cole, Roger Long, Anand Mavalankar, David Kessler, Susha Isutal Next Khan, Rajan Samtani, and Professor Saleem Ahmad.

I spoke many times by phone with Jinnah's only daughter, Mrs. Dina Walta In 1080 I was to have interviewed her at her Madison Avenue qualitates in Manhattan, but unfortunately, perhaps because of her acute shares or illness, the meeting was canceled at the last moment. One questhen she asked in a conversation has often echood in my memory as illustrative of their relationship, "Why so much interest in my father's life, after all these search" Mrs. Wadia's only son, Nusli, was unavailable to meet with me to Bumbay, both in 1978 and in 1982, but he did write: "My grandsatted deed when I was four. . . . My memory of him is vague indeed." "males lather was equally clusive, writing from Switzerland in 1962 to in-Form me that "As Mr. Jinnah disapproved of my marriage to his daughter Interious grounds [Wadia was born a Parsi and converted to Christianth I I saw very little of him & therefore regret I cannot help. . . . My Simplifer was too young to remember him & saw little of him so there would be on one in contacting her." In 1980, Jianah's last surviving sister was bedsubbee to Karachi; I was unable to see her, and she died shortly after my sand theep

I thank my editor, Nancy Lane, and my copy editor, Kathy Antrim, for thest ledp in bringing this book to press, and I thank Kate Wittenberg as II To Faye Fauman, who typed the manuscript, and to my friend Elaine Allow who so kindly photographed me, heartfelt thanks.

It for my dearest wife, who has nurtured, sustained, and inspired me end on works throughout the past thirty years. I confess that no good thing I have ever done or written would have been possible without her comittee that the past throughout throughout throughout the past throughout the past throughout throughout throughout throughout the past throughout throughout throughout the past throughout throughout throughout throughout throughout throughout throughout throughout the past throughout through the past throughout throughout throughout throughout throughou

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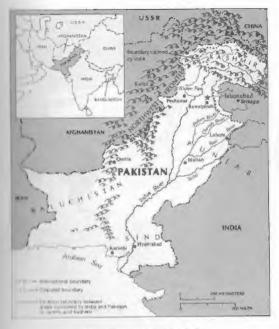
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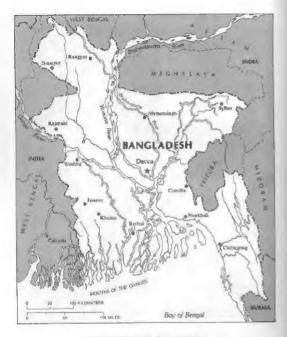
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WEST PAKISTAN from 1947-71



EAST PAKISTAN from 1947-71

JINNAH OF PAKISTAN

Karachi

barristers, and benchers rushing in and out of Lincoln's Inn nowaglance at the oil painting, hung since July 1965, on the stone wall
the entrance to their Great Hall and Library in London. Those who do
that why on earth the gaunt, unsmiling face of "M. A. Jinnah,
the and Pirit Governor-General of Pakistan" should be staring down at
Tall thin monocled, astrakhan-capped, the portrait's subject was, so
tiffed bean secured to its frame attests, "born 25 Decomber 1876 and
till a pituliar 1948." Nothing more is revealed of M. A. Jinnah's history,
the mone artist explured his upright, unbeading spirit, as well as his
public taste in clothes, yet Jinnah's face is almost as enigmatic and spare
though trais plate beneath. His eyes, opened wide, are piercing; his
tightly closed, intridiable. One would guess that he was a man of few
the reach theories of British jurisprodence?

the tunewom stairs of stone that supported Queen Victoria and that it is not oning when she came to dedicate that Great Hall and oak-aid Lifterary in 1845 are two portraits of Englishmen who obviously do a william Henry Maule was baron of the Exchequer, a judge of tunium Pleas, and a benelser, one of four officers elected to administer but I but Lard Arthur Hebboure was legal member of the Executive and of India's Viceray in 1875, the year Prime Minister Benjamin Distip consists Queen Victoria to add "Empress of India" to her regalia.

The stair of the Hall Machine Machine Properties to the setting, for a stair of the Maconghten, who was "Lord of Appeal in Ordinary" and not a ten but hat reasoner, while the other immurcalizes for Francis Henry

RABACIII

Coldsmit, "First Jewish Barrister," bencher and member of Parliament, Jinnah, however, held no office at Lincoln's Inn, nor was he ever elected to Parliament or appointed to preside over any British court, nor did he even serve on the cabinet of a single British viceroy.

Yet the story of Jinnah's unique schievement was so inextricably the product of his genius as a barrister, perhaps the greatest "native" advocate in British Indian history, that his portrait richly deserves the place of high honor it holds. During the last decade of his life, in fact, Jinnah may have been the shrewdest barrister in the British Empire, He was certainly the most tenacious. He crossed swords with at least as many great British-born as Indian barristers, defeating them all in his single-minded pleas for Pakistan. He burned out his life pressing a single suit, yet by winning his case he changed the map of South Asia and altered the course of world history.

Jinnah (in Arabic, "wing" as of a bird or army) was born a Shi'ite Muslim Khoja (Khwaja, "noble"). Disciples of the Isma'ili1 Aga Khan, thousands of Khojas fled Persian persecution to Western India, among other regions, hetween the tenth and sixteenth centuries. The exact date of the flight of linnah's ancestors is unknown, but as a minority community within Islam, itself a religious minority in India, the Khojas of South Asia remained doubly conscious of their separateness and cultural difference, helping perhaps to account for the "aloofness" so often noted as a characteristic quality of Jinnah and his family. Khojas, like other mercantile communities the world over, however, traveled extensively, were quick to assimilate new ideas, and adjusted with relative ease to strange environments. They developed linguistic skills and sharp intelligence, often acquiring considerable wealth. Mahatma Gandhi's Hindu merchant (bania) family, by remarkable coincidence, settled barely thirty miles to the north of Jinnah's grandparents, in the state of Rajkot. Thus the parents of the Fathers of both India and Pakistan shared a single mother tongue, Gujarati, though that never helped their brilliant offspring to communicate.

Jinnah's father Jinnahbhai Poonja (born c. 1850), the youngest of three sons, married Mithibai, "a good girl" of his own community," and soon moved with his bride to Sind's growing port of Karachi to seek his fortune. After completion of the Suez Canal in 1869, Karachi enjoyed its first modern boom as British India's closest port, only 5,918 nautical miles from Southampton, two hundred miles nearer than Bombay. The population was as yet under 80,000, a far cry from the more than 5 million who tahabit that premier city of Takistan today, but enterprising young people, like Jinnahbhai and Mithibai, locked to its municipality's commercial heart, milasting along

both banks of the Lyaree River. There Jinnahbhai rented the second floor quartment of a three-story house, Wazir Mansion (since rebuilt and made toto a national measurems and museum), in the bustling cotton mart on the hundred still cluttered with camels and laden with bales of raw cotton.

Here sometime in the 1870's Mohammad Ali Jinnah was the first of seven hildren born to Mithibai and her husband. Certificates of birth and death serie not issued by Karachi's municipality prior to 1879, and though Jinnah in later life would claim December 25, 1876, as his true date of birth, the licitistay officially celebrated throughout Pakistan, there is reason to doubt it accuracy. Unlike Hindus of comparable wealth and social status, who multi have been careful to record the precise date and moment of a child's birth for astrological purposes, Muslims generally did not concern themselves with birthdates and no records were kept prior to their eurollment in multile school. The register preserved at the first such school Jinnah attended, the Sind Madressa-tul-Islam of Karachi, notes October 20, 1875, as the butth date of "Mahomedalj Jinnahbhai."

At birth, in fact, "Mamad" (his pet name at home) was "small and his devoted sister Fatima (July 31, 1893-July 9, 1967) recalled, "His hadth caused concern as he weighed a few pounds less than normal." Manual was approximately six when his father hired a private tutor to start his not on alphabets and mathematics, but the hoy proved "indifferent" to similies "positively loathed" arithmetic, and could not wait to go outdoors as soon as his tutor arrived. Those private lessons were one indicator of how Humahbhai Poonja's business had prospered by the early 1880's. The annual within of Karachi's trade almost doubled since he had arrived scarcely a the ole earlier, climbing to above 80 million rupees, Jinnahbhai handled all metr of produce, cotton, wool, hides, oil-seeds, and grain for export, and Manufactured piece-goods, metals, and refined sugar imports into the busy port. Business was so good, in fact, with profits soaring so high, that he became a "banker and money-lender" as well for his customers. Despite Islam's prohibition against lending or borrowing money at interest, banking was clearly how Jinnahbhai made his fortune, and subsequently hour it.

Farly in 1887, Jinnahbhui's only sister, Manhai, who had married an even unresuccessful Khoja named Peerbhai and lived in metropolitan Bombay, ame to visit. Mamad loved Auntie's witty, vivacious, cosmopolitan good human and she in turn adored her bright, handsome young nephew, "Night after night, Fatima remembered, Manhai told them "wonderful tales of fatim and the flying carpet, of fitta and dragons." She hired Mamad back to tumbay with her that year, introducing him to the great city that was to

become his chosen home most of ansadt title Liven as provincial Karachi's commercia houses clung in those days 'to Bombay as the love clugs to the oak "6 Jamah to love ans Aunt Manhae who must have symbol see for him the hearty gamor and courses tractionator it had presidence capital.

antile is known of Mimad's bit in Box box coring his first finite zingly brief visit to the bog it is as an artistanced culturally from karachi as the infer visit from home stronge. He will all his harter with what it was at the Muslim Apparature Is an inches hat the Author Apparature Is an inches the calletter in his best distributed that I have a factor of the artistance of the Author Apparature Is an inches a factor of the solve of the former in the harter of the former in the harter of the position of the former in the harter of the harte

Young I make toperant or for in ecception was never high. Sitting at home learning throgs by not was one enough it short hard to make no His spirited was a brain robe ling to be it and lindean primar school these on Especial e flowbar Incas most heart for soit was adorned with present it was of with said topped I, loft paleades spinning royal a ns. The is a ly daru sparking waters of Back Has were detted A la sugar of sands to smoon s to the manage the Crawford Mirket the dime an tier ad very led prett words retire diencisple all for sale Re as he Mean and On the big must lid the innverses he must be gipt than at the Victoria god comments to all that the Brist to and smort rize in its gli of Know I presstop to the soil If tow rad il manual bank and har ar it cours res building were destables social to the new carries to real of arranged for her oning visitors de ght en the rite mans had be restrated a karach for another against before visiting Books and many might well have been nors include simply a business that there toutstern a test with where of the boom and province is distances of an admonated company Bit having some Borr as he would not order thank hough he went hack to Karachi after lit e lore than six months, I was haruly out of boredon with his new envirousient

His auther rating noted had been mistrable with at her "darling son. Manad curolled in the first distances in December 23, 387 but a few reast after his name was withdrawn fire in the roster because of long absence. If composed inding his differs strabial horses more the angle arithmetic and to it classes eggents in his his tread Karlin ki strict gallop off on "auther in arises" of share ninds. Manari med horses as he did "minarets and domes." He liked reading poetry, box, but at his own in that was heaver intoidated by authority, nor was he cany to control even and the little of the

the state of the s

I which was was good enough for aniabhbai Poolga to my is own al handsome arrages." His firm was closely assembled " I be to I manage of gener to karachy Dorglas Graham and have the er alk gh Croft Grahama general manager has have I e b s baro etcs & Frederick's onlycyce on Juniah's into a security at that this infort the so let ellis known of I I was an memphered Call High two at the time as a the arthropolical and water a rest probabilism to be the new year time and a with about for able of the presence of shilden, whom he did not like." And a decade later this thumbhall de-, a sate for his neared presentional extent of I . I . have a not corresped from anoth of his British I to a le Jegl Camberlay Se linder & damenste I ked the the special of a statement to be about the young the series programme other thank the SO2 That single and the first from the observation of sound into the orbit of the tent to the acress at the ore to the wer that our m are a a Katala ayed a a best a leaned ag pad that a form is would have been space thope were him-I (If not thousands) of young men in Bombay at least as well conno character and manager whose govern doubtless ned to moons men like Croft there to do as much for their sons. Karachi, however had and, one fringle

When his mather learned of her favorite child's latest travel plans, she call dout bitterly against the trip. Bombay with Auntie had been far enough, and much inco long a separation. Now London? Alone and for two years at a not be, ar nosable and intelerable perhaps intotition told her she would never see him again. Her tears, imprecations, and arguments construced for weeks, but jurnah had made up his mind. His after never terstansor size and the latest of the latest and day of the same was a dan ground country to send an unmarried and hardsome young man ake her and bome triplish girl anglit here him into narriage and that would be a minute to be and finally "helawed like an disclosure son," accepting the surranged marriage as the private of his pavenge of England. His mother

good gul," as she hersetf had been. The matchmakers and parents decided everything for Janah and his bride, even as young Gandhus parents had done a few years before the way countless other teenage Indian couples were married in the nineteenth century.

"Mohammad Al was hardly a steen and had never seen the girl he was to marry. Fatima reported of the wedding." Decked from head to foot in long flowing gursands of flowers, he walked in a provise on from his grand-father's house in the of as father in new where his fourness wear oil bride. Earl Bai, sait in an expensive rinda areas, wearing glittering ornaments, her hands spotted with henna, her face spotted with good dust and reviolent with the fingurance of attar. How did young J mush feel about this stranger child brider He reads had no to be a which to learn much about her Onla days after their marriage he sailed not of her life never to see her again. Long before Juriah would return from London. Emibai, like his mother was doed.

In January 1893, Januah left for England "unnecompanied and unchapero sed aboard a Pacific & Orient stear show During that you vivinge he was perferenced by an "e derly long should who who wok to him like his own son. g 14 you g Is mah as La 2002 address when he describarked at Marses les "Doving the next four years whenever this Englishman cause back to his native and from Ind , he would call my brother to his house and ask him or have a rical with him and his family recounted Fatima ? Mohamir ad Advanded at Southam stone or tehing the hoat train to Victoria Status "Thir ing the first tow months I found a strange country and infamiliar surround ings "he recain! "I all put knew a so il and the logs and winter in London upso me a great den . At Geahan's de sot at a small desk meroanded by stacks of account books he was expected to copy and balance. The agency's head office was in the Cov of London near Threadmedie Street, a short walk from historic Cauldha a the Bank of England and the old East India Con pany's or gina head charters along the Bover Thomes in Leadenhad Street Junan ke it no diary and wrote no autobiography, as did Canch, and Nation with the mast have felt at once mated and depressed to find homelf in the cold, remote inspiring heart of the highes coopies into which he had been som. "I was owng and onery Far from home - Frompt for some employees at Grahams. I did not know a soul, and the minensity of London as a city we ghed heave a many solitars are But I soon got settled to bie in London, and I began to like it before long."14

Is after deposited in the circulated successful as a Brush back to affect by the court of the co

hat now displays the County Council's blue and white ceramic oval showii . that the "tounder of Pakistan staven here in 1895." Now rather run-down. that brock of attached buildings must have looked quite fasmon but in 1 also day The flat is Lived in was owned by Mrs F E. Page-Drake a ordow with "an attractive daughter wito was about the same age" as Moon mad Ah and "ked m shother" Perhaps to mass me nersed the spinster I may arrived "but he was not the fibriatious type and she could not break il - aigh his reserve." She would som times arrange mixed parties in her mother's house, and among he various games she would organ se was one a such the penalty for a fault was a kiss. Mohamingad An give a counted I as all out of this a ssing game. One Christmas Eve he reen led, 'Miss La. Drake threw her across around me as I was standing under some mistlethe significance of which I did no their know, and said that I must kiss we and gently that we too had mar social rifles and he my etoe kiss was not me of them. She let rill go and did no both lime ognin in this manwe "Mest peerling perhaps about so innocuous are incident is why Miss a hisbould have considered it important enough to report in ceta l. Was I such a pludish sister's way of on he listing the laster's record to keep be at nothers rung normen be-

weah anglowed bis name in London, replacing the cumbersome Mo-... ed Alı Jinnalıbhaı of Karachi with its streamlined British version, I study what he first used to crossing its hovel deak of Scotland te la lie also traded in his traditional Sindia long velous cost for smartly . a d Sax he Row so its and heavily streeted detachable collared shirts I the can from a was prefectly a pt of to a sport London's fries fishions and was to rear, a model of sactorial elegance for the rest of his life. tall second in the baset soft for the 200 ode hand-tailored socts in his a to se closes by the end of his te As a harrister to prided himself on to wrating the same silk the twice. The very stylishness of his attire extruded to the tips of his toes, which were sheathed in smart two-tone ther or so d. Few Englishmen ever developed as keen at at erest in and a did a with 11's perfect manners and affire always assured and of the A of Englands states horres, cubs and paraces. Like Anthony 1 the Duke of Windsor, Jinnah became a model of fashion the world over rivaled among his South Asian contemporaries only by Mot.lal Nehru.

Mr. M. A. Jimush did not take long to abandon the drudgery of his a sear's apprenticeship. He arrived in London in February 1893 and on the distance of the Prelim user Examination. To be recursed the Latin parties of the Prelim user Examination. The grand and petty here of London distanged him from his mosty deak in shift of Malkae twenting as a Warrance and search of the latin.

down Fieet Street past Chancery Lane and the old Temple Bar, into the spaceous fields of Lincoln's Inn. then still pared by winter's bite but having the promise of forsythm, him, and wistens. Half a century later addressing Karachi's Bar he recalled I joined I meon's Inn because there on the main ontrance, the pame of the Prophet was neturded in the list of the great lawgivers of the world. It was a fascinating track of memory he played on b piselt for no such inscription exists over the main, or indeed any other enarance of I moolu's Inn nor dal 4 then. What Jamah recalled seeing, however was G + Watt's fresco in Lincoln's New Hall called "The Law Givers," depicting the Prophe with Moses Jesus and other great spiritual leaders of civil zation. A London cour gode or Inn guard must have pointed out Mu har had's visage with a earshot of young Jianah, who pass the decided then that has was the Inn he we did like must to attend For orthodon (Sanna) Muslims, of course, may harman depiction of the Prophet was an anotherma. heresy to iconoclastic Islan Junialis message to Pakistanic young Sunni activators was not in it mount to be approximally it him could be admit to them that the hory crophets image bad ourly assured him? Subconsciously, therefore he deleted the face from menury "inscribing" Muhammad's name" over I need as "man entrance" instead.

Young much was fissent ted as the glamorous world of posities that he glamorous world of posities that he glamorous as often as possible from the visitors galerry of Westmansters House of Commons. Lord Cross's India Camera Act passed after heated debate in 1892, stummated the Birst to Indian Act passed after heated debate in 1892, stummated the Birst to Indian Act passed after heated debate in 1892, stummated the Birst to Indian affairs in London since 1888. That ict introduced albeit and rectly the elective principle is to Birst's Indian innistitution thus serving as an historic thin edge of the wedge of representative government that was soon to force open officially dominated eous of dembers through to trutish India Jinnah Innah Innah innish Logicative Council and later served for Jecades on New Delh, s expanded assembly, where he played an important puslamentary role.

The Liberal tide that orought William Glidstone back to 40 Downing Street for a third time in 1892 also carried Bombay Parsi Dadabhay Naoros (1825-1947) into Paraament Dadabhay, who had started a fire you Loncon and Laserppor in 1855, was elected to the House of Commons from Central Finsbury on a Liberal texet by si slender a murgin, three years that he was commons called "Mr. Narrow Majority" by his neets To line is on the how you disable was the Crain Old Majorof national writers in 1844 and a Clause on Dadabha was the Crain Old Majorof national writers in 1844 (and 1845) and the same land of the same land of

A there in Parliament to tell at least what the native view is on any
tam a Lord Substant the obsted Ton prime minister, characterized
to knowled Conceibiting to Pars. Dadabhas victory. The volunteer ward
to denerge the volung Todans ike Jonah helped bring the voice of a
today nationalist to echo through the mightiest chamber of the

"If Dadabbai was black, I was darker," Jinnah told his sister. "And if this the mental by of the British politicians then we would never get a led from them. From that day I have seen an or compromising enemy die. Linus of colour bar and racial provider." Jonal steeded to in the set gallery to Dada was a marker speech. "I 1893 and thir led as he milt is raid Old Man extol the turnes of "free speech." As Ji mab noted, he or was an Indian, who was deverorse that right and demand justice to recome "Without freedom of speech. Ji mal wisely inderstood in the controller. "Without freedom of speech. Ji mal wisely inderstood in the controller. "Without freedom of speech. Ji mal wisely inderstood in the controller. "Without freedom of speech. Ji that wisely inderstood in the controller. "Without freedom of speech. Ji that wisely independent them is mistler stricking nor on." Thanks to Dadabbar's a light the returned to link a light and after his returned to link a.

to be batter poor as study of the law for preparation for a po1 1 course of the record survives of the thoughts that passed through his
1 in the spring of 1803. We know only that he did dead, to sit for his
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the matches force of all rave afforded the lowery, it is doubtful to a wine contributed another reper o his sons support in London to deliver vary contributed another reper of of Junati's appulaive deliverance of the son that are a son to be a feel and the son the son that are freedrick to like the at C. Lank name office wouth nave freed a further flagger to help that "Sindhi upstart ingrate". As Jinnah well knew he was on a Secondary of the son to be a son to be a son to be son the son that the son that the would find himself included, cut off in so son the son to be s

actor his career. If he had any fears or doubts about his future, he left no record of them. On June 25, 1893, he embarked upon his study of the law at Lincoln's Inn.

Luccoln's Inn had a most apposing list of graduates and dropouts, mehiding Thomas More W Iliam Pitt and baif a dozen other Br tish prime ministers from Loro Can ray to Asq. th Two of Britain's greatest prime ministers, Disrae and Condstone want there but neither compared his course of study In 1893 when J mal enrolled john Morley (1838-1923) who first entired Latitorias premises thirty our years earlier was elected a bencher As ther of On Compressive John Stuars Mal's greatest disciple Gladstone's arish Home Rule seer tary and Laberal heatenant "Honest John" dater Lord. Moriey ten had the most enportant had decade as secretary of state for I wild 1900-10 still ahead or hun. One of Britain's most brilliant Labcross Merley secune one of January haves. The uncompromising idealistic fervor or On Campromise west through Januah's or nd like a flame " iguiting his magnution with arguments such as that which insisted upon parcing 'teach' first among my choice of "principles" Jinnah quited Morley to surrent as onces later to life, and he personally fried to othere in the Laber durleols ary Languer trap Lincoin's great benglier

M. A. Jinnah's egal or cotton was with minor nor feation, the medieval gar J apprentices to praethod laure and with the founding or Lincoln's I'm which was aimed for the King's Sergeant of Holory. Thomas de Lin com in the latter half of the for teenth entery flewerds of that self-governing society's council rivel age and mainess affairs have been preserved at tar has library in annual Black Books' since 1422 when the students all still I visil within he land somber walls. After the encoded number of students became too great to accommodate as do the hostel tradition was only sympolically retuined through the requirement that all students enrolled at a university eat a minimum of three carners in the Creat Hall or those not curolled, as no amaks case estax. The conegoal environment of those dimhers where burristers and beautiers sat close unnight to students to engage them in conversal in argument or debate was decined an important aspect of legal training. For how better could young men sharpen their wits and develop forensic skills, after all, than in debate with their gold elders? The convivinits of table talk was moreover a shortcut to friendship or an brathy and fla vount, apprentice was alert as well as was the soon learned what was best said or left areard in the company of lawyers.

The Greet Hall was seed at my and drain however since moots am "bolts" were as held her than and of the growing and care tions in the former, students following stat in the latter. The most important

eut in Jinnah's legal education, however, was the two years of "reading" op sticeship he spent in a barrister's chambers. He would follow his master stockess and footsteps outside chambers as well, through all the corrections. Jempie Court, up every creaking stair of Holborn's crowded pubs. We help the eaggeration one might say that if in addition to the above, a and tead Wilham Blackstone's Commentaires on common law he had read Wilham Blackstone's Commentaires on common law he had read with an originally creases still belonged to that old school is agreed to the men who were deemed fit for a career in law as long as they had a dressed propers, and are with the right utensils.

I was not in chambers or dining in Great Hall, I much passed and I struct in London strolling or studing up the book-lined Reading it the British Museum, a Meeca for scholars the world over On Santo the 1 that haven closed, he went at times to Hyde Park corner at the ... a title o listen to the open-air pratory of anyone who had a box to . . . and he courage to speak his mind on any subject Trish Home 11 sit of Webb, whom much had heard from Westminster's gallery, to all to preside over the Madras Congress in 1894. I hate tyranny whitever practised more especially if practised by my own me r for her I am n'a measure responsible. Webb sa'd to his the "arish question" was resolved, are to A as a set d. Inc., also the rest of the British Empire would If the I have the sparaly sed with the affairs of under five milde note me strices rise and tall on the question of Ireland rather " a session atted during those early ionely years in London, of - catt nort has be seef at demands could "paralyze" a byge emthat I the appropriate all the weaknesses as well as strengths of control of Whatlar or of he ever rose the requisite min mal height to a net sail at Hode Park other to hater fine any London audia if in least to any useful debating tricks merely by listening Here stal engaging speakers in argument.

the first land order of the state of the sta

we were arrested and taken all to the police station . . . [and] for off

would ever come to being placed behind bars, another polar difference that separated him from Gandon Vehru, and most other nationalist leaders who spenty ears in British it sud cous

Young Jamah ted in love with theater while higher in London. His secret ambition he accer contressed was "to plan the role of Romers at the Old vic "a Exactly when he started to circain of an acting career is unclear themple it was obviously after he had begun to state him. Perhams have bured him in first or it has have been watching he performances of harmsters, the greatest of whom were often spell brading thesp ans, that is not ated his interest in going or stage. At any event it was no mere whim or passing fance but a love after than lasted to lithe one of his years. "Even in the days of his most acts, and it is that has not not be years." Even in the days of his most acts, and it is but one or pieced which he returned house fired and it by he would road Shaders learn this vence. It is also also the reasonable to a burnary cours monor as remained his impair cours root, arop later and those who he reasonable is a brain a content gardons and in terms saides whicher to judge or its often commented, and accounting however that Jianah was "only acting" when he was most or rous.

O, one 7, 895, I must wrote a check for \$.158, 19 - covering all fees for I associate the flux He had growed by eachers better out a rightant o "come hame" to not be her, ted after to specification of the full Bar expenses early to not be her, ted after to specificate of that ours. He was observed on 2.00 a month for his more and half board at the home of Mrs. Page Drake and would aways be very careful with comes. The habits of frigality re developes a those early London years never act her the even manages it wave 6". I due the sure his latter had in half three dover the plane of the very careful with early the receiver plane agree the plane of earth. Sell the dreament of a life at art, and of remaining in London.

"After I was called to the Bar — was taken by some friends to the Manager of a theatrical con pany who asked he to go up to the stage and rear of pieces of Shakespear." Junah remir seed. "I did so. His wide and he were minensely pieceed and immediate inflered me a job. I was cultant and I wrote to my parents or avon, for their biessings. I wrote to them that I was a largering profession where success was incertain a stage carear was much better and it give me a good dant and that I would now be in dependent and not bother them with grants of maneral it. My differ wrote a long offer to it of a gly salpriving majority of the away distributed to be stated as a largering my occurred. Do not be a limited to the family I went to my employers and conveyed to them that I no langer looked forward to a stage successing

The were surprised, and they tried to persuade ne, but my nind was made up. According to the terms of the contract I had signed with them, I was to have given then three months notice before quitting. But you know, they were langlishmen, and so they said. "Well when you have no interest in the "" whealst we keep you against "our wishes."

The signed contract inth area how sensors Jinniha commitment to Lon
1 or the rind aring had been It was obviously his first loce at the time

2 x "long beter" had dissuaded hear I very his to consige his find of an anatter of major importance, but that was the last time he would ever

1 and a green familial treason cut his conscience to the quick leaver in a rely wounded. Apparently that the also informed him of his about the history of the highest local him of his about the history of the highest local him of his about the history of the highest local him of his area of the measures. What a shock that effectively his father must be a their areasons. What a shock that effectively his father must be cast over his last days and weeks in London.

M. 1998. Mahoused A. Jiman. Depute a Bornster of tisk Soperformed the benchers of Lordy. In for "certificate," attesting V. Sam Ca. to the Bar and of his deportment. "With that alisman a Lower one to join the Bert of a court in British India. Now he of the goldino-but not V. Karack. There was a other, left. Karack. There was a other, left. Karack. There was a other, left. Karack. I will be labore of his bank account to a new account in his name to be a last Continual Bank of India. Lide Bombar, That was done on \$160. Not day he clombed the gangwar of the I & O lines that I k archivate he protein grows that a cortect stop or in attention to the close as his new permanent home. His father had lined him from the close as his new permanent home, His father had lined him from the close as his new permanent home, His father had lined him from the close as his new permanent home, Mis father had lined him from the close as his new permanent home, Mis father had lined him from the close as his new permanent home, Mis father had lined him from the close as his new permanent home. Mis father had lined him from the close as his new permanent home, Mis father had lined him from the close as his new permanent home. Mis father had lined him from the close as his new permanent home, and the only briefly, to

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Bombay (1896-1910)

Jinush was enrolled as a harrister in Bombav's high court on August 24. 1898, procisely are decade after the karach country boy was first driven past that Victorian punce of law Herch's variegated London experiences, ten pered by the training of his brief return hone had made a man of him. He was nereft of nother and wife his most powerful tes to Karachi had been cut with surgical finants. M. A. Lonah, Esq. borne out of the hinter disappronument and pain that throuded his leaf few months, was launched line orbit on his own.

For Bombay as for Jinnah personally it was a time of tragedy and mourning Judionic plague from China reached that buss port in the autumn of 1898. The Black Dear is that claimed millions of Indian lives in the ensuing decades remained most severe in the crowded bustling cities of Bombay Poona, and Ahmedabac, at least until the ingenius Dr. W. M. Haffking 1860-1830, developed his vaccine in 1899. Jinnaha preoccupation with clear mess serubbing his hands man, times daily at almost observed, eight seems to date from this pre-Haffking era when the only known "antidotes" to the Hack Death were soap, water and whitewash. His life ong obsession with clear meticulous dress as well as persona hygiene and privacy some rather more sensible than surprising given the hamd heat and health haz ands prevalent in Bombay especially at this time, annah rented a reasonable room in the Apolle Ra lway Hotel on Charu R and within wasking of struce of the lugh count where he if existing of this days as diffing the advocacy of others and awaiting his first client.

Vete Is mad up a knew of the vessag barrater's first caree years in another to 1000 moves to any local and processor as the local control of the second terms of the s

ing idvocate-genera. John Molesworth MacPherson. The latter took imon as liking to young Januh and avited him to work in his office. It was the test such invitation MacPherson "ever extended to an Indian," Sarojini. 1) 1879-19491 one of Januah's most devoted friends, recalled Mac-Characters confidence and support came "as a beacon of hope" at a low point and a carly struggles to establish himself. Auntie Manhai Peerbhoy, her be and and their circle of friends, assisted him socially of course," and be a come through Luccoln's lan gave har the proper credentials but "In I is you did for I much's legal career what Croft had done for his life. and it trans the bondrum realize of facu, competition to a more usu ted power and possibility. In MacPheison's chambers Junch had of ormation long before it reached the ears of penur his pleaders , at ten the agh dim corridors of he pourt. With it, a few meeths of going MacPherson he learned for example that one of Bomb , s four . . . s a renerpal judgeship was about to fall vacant. His response · stron of this valuable news offers a gat ipse of young Jamah in on Caing torogh the window and smoking a cigate of la the many actal coffice | salesaway "Vectoria can slow y passing by " . I would must 'jumped into it and drove straight to the offer of Sir his I want " he Charles was then jud out member of the provincial at f Brobay and Joand MacFrorson's handsome a abittous young at a some message that he laced him to serve as "temporary" third presi-

the second secon

The dawn of the Edwardian era, coinciding with that of the twentieth

t, found Junaih firmly established in his chosen career, earning

I name to sust a "teen office." He "spared to expense" to furnish that

and attractive chamber," his safer received, in a manner which "any

lawyer would have been proud to call his own." Jamahbhar Poonja's health had declined with his business fortune and so the old man moved with his remaining children to Bombay, renting a small house in the Khoja d street of Kharak Jinnah appears not to have seen much of his father in this interide, however and Ly 1904 Jimpahbha moved off to Bombos's Ratuagu coast, where he spent his final years in quiet retirement. The only sittle with whom Jimah established a cost, containing te atouship was Fat who carrolled as a boarding student in Bombay's Bondra Convent State thanks to her brother's manifectut support. Al ssion schools were still the best primary and secondary enters at education in India at this time and because of her excellent early education Fatima was able to gain ad some to the highly competitive University of Calcutta, where she after dea, the Dental School, I had visited his ador-us, sister on Sundays, taxing her fcarriage rices around Bo da which she learned to love as much as he brot ser. Almost is tall inchean as an Estama's appearance was an aries of reals a of her bromers, the mable brow as high the chark homes as pour not to the line mouseves as wide and proping, and the hair metally as warm and raver black we ad later come just as cold white

Though religion never play done reportant rate in Juniah's life except for its political agrificance holefully agrificance holefully agrificance holefully agrificance holefully agrificance holefully agrificance and annual social Twelver Khajas who acknow a no leader. One of Juniah's new, and ned bombay friends Justice Barniah Tyahy. (1844-1906) first Misal milhigh court programs that president of the Indian Nutional Congress, was an Jana Adhart. Tyahyl, like Juniah social and the modernast who argued in his presidential additions to the Madras Congress. If for one, my attern at a loss to indensity additions to the summars should not work shoulder to shoulder with their follow concentration of other racus and creeks for the common benefit of all this toping play the which we, the Borolay Fresidence have a wish Introda's other closest freedus and admired cliders in Bomba's a full Hindus, and Christians, nor of whom took the recognitive religious as a second play as their faith in British law and Indian nationalism.

Most of the lendors of the one fourth of Br tash Tadius popul ton the adhered to Islam, however were critice orthogon. Some face on it who continued to look to the Queran and prophetic practices as their assures of appropriate dail who is a number set of a properties. Although the above the set of the set o

al College at Aligarh, some tixty miles southeast of Delhi to a ces deutral and totor all collegiate system. A garb I have oning Muslim males of British Lidia Western philosophy, and the dual virtue of loyalty to the British raj as the line health and corr nons rooms served as breed for the Muslim League Sir Sayyid himself, snighted in 1870, mature life to service in the British Empire. Appointed by the or I. store Control for So yid argued from that them in 1841 against "the introduction of the principle of elecsample" into the body politic of "a country like India, where still lleurish, where there is no fusion of the various races, Multing them are still a plent "A docade later he denounced "objects" of Congress as "based upon ignorance of history and they do not take into consideration that India is ind at mationalities, they presuppose that the Muslims like the the Realmonto the Kahatriyas . . can all be treated alike, and to the same notion." That was the earliest modern articutwo nation theory which was to become the ideological basis

> be record as remote from such feelings, as much transmitte, as he had been in London in 1893, when speke of Hudos and Muslims as "different nationalities." at this time was the law though his singular success as an anneleted to be netting takent. "He was what God made word Bombay's high court put it, "a great pleader He be could ove around curners. That is where his talents a sess alone thanker . But he drave his points home-Annated. When he stood up in Court, slowly looking tople ong his minocele in his eye- with the sense of timing home an actor he became omnipotent. Yes, that is the forebito Alva said he "cast a spell on the court-room to added by the worst circumstances. He has been our timoles most famous legal apprendice, M. C. Chagia, Bord wa night enure, ro leader a presentation of a case" was nothing less than "a

e heaves even a need Dadabhai Naoroji and another brilt So Pler v Mehlt 845t De the design of the tree of the rate of all

minorities in India's nation-building process. To my mind, a Parsi is a better and a truer Parsy as a Mahomedon or a Handu is a better and truer Mahom edan or Hindu, the more he is attached to the land which gave him barta. Sir Pherozesha i mastert "Is it possible to imagine that Dadabha: Naoror for instance, true Para that he is, is anything but an Indian? . . . Can any one donot if I may be allowed to take another all stration, that Sir Sved Alimed Khan was greater in distobler when he was devoling the great energies and truents with which he is endowed , for the benefit of all Ind ans in general than when, as of site he was preaching a gospe of selfishness and so ation " Meht; was life as first Pars, barrister cailed to the Bar from Lincoln's Indian 1868, and served as a men for of Bomnay's Murecord Corporat a for forther a years four times at a chair Flequet impersons, a ferree advocate haded as 'Un rowned King of Bombas' Sir Perozes al was more the Bombay model to | pah's early carres than Dialatina. It asset he labeled he "s pursed that's between Hindus and Mixer's others need then a conver entitleens to distract attention and to defor the day of reform "is Your, I man test to all the same way

The first appeal session of congress after leady for rah was its twentieth. held under canvas on Bombay's Oval in December 1904. Sir Photoges and a red be eer thor manufact his welcoming "r marks" taking longer then Sir Heres Cotton's estive preside that outless indicative of their retive purpose with a the Longress as well as the cahelor cal sives. Respond raig to Viceros Lord Catator's patron roug advice. "I do not trink that the salvation of linda is to be sneight in the head of politics. Mehta asked "How cha those aspirations and everes he even grad alls achieved unless we are allowed to play at all times a movest and tennic attitude to the field of politics? I have a not through the cabious above of British Indias "secret and are spons for threateness, are no Militar agreeing with Walter Balle. hot that all bureaucracy tended to "under-government in point of quality" and over give mineral in point of quantity." Mehta proposed that two of his trusted disciples from Bombay he sent as Congress deputies to Lundon the following year to lobby what he and other well-informed observers of Britains por ical chimate correctly anticipated would be the new Liberal government in Westminister and Whitehall his choices for so important a task were Gopal Krishaa Grahage 1866-1915 and V. A. amah Maha ma-"Great-Souled") Gokhale, who was to preside over the next session of Congress scened on hy act, our tower or bit built was self primary to most Congress delegates, and enough questions were raised to hold up responding a formal layers of the later to the layer of self-Coxlane eight years later, when both were appointed to the same royal -rings at Pla Pit Compression by and a fact on the wall Cook are about

le liness, and moderation be came to admire so that he soon stated

simples involvement in Congress politics was as integral a by-product of all career and social from Bot bay as his earlier connot to that a had been an London Lord Carzon's pateronistic vice-ped o streadate growing politica impaliance among india's to the control of the contr

. I Con er ove 35 is a on Bengal was certainly "unwieldy to to the award or through the derigal spraking a wing rowher dividing its predict mosts if indi-1 se , the W st from the must a more thing for Bengal of Cont. Van Mason onto anomic Engine Bengal . ded a 1 a du n Jacea West Brigal no recistered it is seed a virial History and contained so calling as a le hat it no longer had then gue speaking . W majority Calcutta's Bengali Hindu olito, who had been Curzon's . . It was the parter on of their musherland as in the real very wave the half decade of solent antito detect the transfer bazaars and partow . It was an examilar cott grant British goods across . If a a h. M. le s and Labore M. Lions of Indians a heat a partied by a new to publicated by the meassioned thris Bry Is set I come jes who left 4 a to . el. as gh Facuta's streets singcar's new anthen: "Bande Malarum" ("Hail To Thee, Mother")

the points of impact of its explosive aftershock was to change he life to the total of the explosive aftershock was to change he life to the total of the explosive and the end of the explosive and the explosive after a consideration of the explosive after an explosive after a consideration of the explosive after a consideration of

worst features of the present system of bureaucrata rule—its utter contempt for public opinion its arrogant protentions to superior wisdom its recilies disregard of the most cherished feelings of the people. **Pot As a Bombas Muslim, however Jimah was perhaps most remote among all salaets of Indian nationalists from the feelings of outrage and betraval shared his to many Benga i His dus. He will indestrood of course how shrewd a British political move this was, wearing Bengal. Mislim from dependence on Calcutta's landlord and more as ading as well as political from dependence on Calcutta's landlord and more as ading as well as political foliations and Madas. That first partition signified Muslim political consciousness throughout the subcontinent providing a provincial cradie in Dacca for the birth of the Muslim League in 1906.

Curzon's successor. Lord by all 1845-1914 was also a Tory entremehod in Calcular short in the British general elections the would depose his partition, power in Lordon for the next decade. Paradoxically, British Indias Liveral secretary of state John Mories, contributed as much as Mario dallo dividing the espice he shed from 1906 to 1910 by promising for the noblest of a usons to ratify the paradoxical reforms soon after a took Whitehals upolin. More council reforms intended to them for and expand the base of section representative papella government them gone I india, also ted the seeds of reagious partition in the heart of little Indias enters, and could be taken.

Or October 1 1908 there five Mus tris of noble birth wealth, and power from every prix in. It british India and several articles states gashered in the regal biodroom of the viceous 5 mbs parace in the Hamilton of the States of Marte an and horsen as inchanned. We Rolls entered precisely it 4 00 a stothe Aga khan introduced each of his fellow depicters to the viceous and their land white read a mid the address, which was junted in velocities and backers or been sent to his secretary. J. R. Durlop Smith (1858–1921). The address contained a warning that

The Mohamedans of India have always placed implicit reliance on the vense of putice and source, far learning that have characterised their rolers and have in consequence assumed from pressure their charges by methods that night prove at all embarrassing, but earnistly as we desire that the Mohamedans of India should not in the future depart from that excellent and time horizonted to dit in account events in stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Mohamedans which the result is the stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Mohamedans which the result is the stirred and count of the stirred and the stirred and the stirred and are stirred and assume that it is the stirred and the stirred and are stirred and assume as the stirred and the stirred

v. none of the ominous amplications of that warning were lost upon the

to hope your Excellence will pardon our stating at the outset that representative institutions of the European type are new to the Indian 1 mans of the most houghtful members of our community mentioneside that the greatest care, forethought and caution will be increasing if they are to be successfully adapted to the social, religiously appeal conditions blatting in I dis, and that more or or new conditions bearing in I dis, and that more than of such care and caution here. doption a kely among of series the energy of an ausy mathetic.

be a sone first use of the words "national interests" by Indian Muslims to B cast rulers for he plaga ast the "ansarrasheta" Hardu I in address went on to spell out Misl n iopes or turk his ions . It is not all government was as assumed "We Mo semedans are in them, many with additional rit rests of our man which are not that you ampt a said these mays by nervo suffered from the fact has not seen not quitch represented We herefore pray in . . we be go rously preused to provide that both is the to the bordinate and maister, sorveres of all Indian provinces a a d Mola was sont a ways find place thanks to me from I sport ridy "the masses of goals of Moharmer as has at the effects of Mohameau i educationists have from the very 4 to a long count umong turn here strengershy directed " a level a rent of haracter and this we versure to mink as of to character and a critical in the making of a good puber and soits for Makers were requested to be reserved on on process was a least big a rount hearthus, and reminispatities as soft so on university senates and syndicates,

the state of the state of the state of their own region of the state of their own region of the tendence of their own region the tendence of the own region the tendence of the tendence of the state of

coming all the political machiners of the Western world amongst the heredram instincts and traditions of Fastern races."

Finally, Minto announced that "any electoral representation in India would be a more of to unsuneous failure which a need at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the less and translation of the communities composing the local lation of the contract the Mah-median council to may rest assured that their position in the first sund interests is community with which I an concerned."

The veeroy's remarks were greeted with "marriers of satisfaction" and cries of hear hear from the Icle, steel de adataon. At a garden ten parts that afternoon elegates assured I ad. Mat. that now we fee the Viceres a surfreed home and Landop Smith consucred it a last or port of that s work and it was obe hith latter who tool Her I ad slop that evening but he viewer tas a hong as the the ming has af ever two i thous of peop. It is paint gither in he of the sed too is opposition of Calcutt a react is returnal at remaining a America Bazar Patrika reported the deputa fully cap wered by interested tion ad a reception as a got op their the authorities wanted a few to we towns to don go a mater war for a retails ion to give their a seatilicate of good conduct They know the Hard's war not as so have laken operation among the oloc cases. Missair air "" Both assessments were exagger and though tie dept as it did wit the presente of reparate customers. For Mass install major and re man a key that and to Pakistan From the more can of that Similard satisfied, however the Mission League would be born sefere the year's end much who had so recent and the Aga Khan's Ismaili fold had norby to be win the Mas or agreet on or its listoric Dace aftermath

In Nova her Salabo, al Alian, he eading landowner of Dacca whose sist howangs was his the "Nawab," so sed Aligarh's Molanmedar Escala Fond Conference in Dacca for to sureman, edine suggesting at 1. The Nawab of Dacca I ad been "sick" during the Sema or entire but the reception committee for the foundar, meeting it the Markin League is Daccas Shah Baga. Bot of Griners in December # 1988 sleep. Daccas Shah Baga. Bot of Griners in December # 1988 sleep. Daccas Shah Baga. Bot of Griners in December # 1988 sleep. Daccas Shah Baga. Bot of Griners in December # 1988 sleep. Daccas Shah Baga. Bot of Griners in December # 1988 sleep.

oil is manifest that if at any remote period the British Government remote to crist in India, then the rule of India would pass into the limit of Unit community which is bearly four times as large as orrected in the control of such a situation is created in India. Then, our life, our product of humour and our faith and all lie in great diagner. When the standard what a power is the hand administration is post clurg its subject of the control of the con

I who he conservative loyalis. Mos in noblity frank to their to finish at semal protection was mass accounted to their confinition of the first discussions the Maslim Larger energed with the semantial of the confinition of the first strong and rengan that we are notated to be tailed to be taken one over own and rengan that we are notated to be tailed to be taken of the confinition of the subscript of the nizm of the was after all, reared in the autocratic service of the nizm of the was prematted no political agitation, tolerated no dissent:

I do not heritate in declaring that unless the leaders of the Coupress of success efforts as appedity as possible to quell the bostlifty of the constant of th

a series to editer answar in thought Alberta

League, though ht d d not attend the Dacca mangino, session, and later wrote it was "treakishly rong that bur doughtest opponent in 1906" was Jamah, who "came out as latter nost it soward all that I and my friends had done and were trying to do. He was the only well-known Muslim to take this attribute. He said that her proof ple of separate electorates was dividing the national against itself."

Jimah had joined fort, four other like unded Muslims in neighboring Calcutta, meeting register with some , 500 for due Parsis and Closties at the 1906 an hoat session of Cingless Dariabha. Nationij provided with Jimah serving as bis secretary Old Dadasha was too weak to read the address hi sectiat Jimah had helped wite so Goldale read it for him beginning with several contations. One trem I bern Price Minister Campio Closure in called for self-government. Cod provinciational never be a subsettle for government for the good the Dadabhan Gok in Jimah is ress carners, called for exploring and their linear branch of the services and a civer branch of the services to be publicated the Thoreford weight of factor of finish by retaining so many British officers.

depriving us of weath, work and wisdom, of everything in short, worth living for ... Alteration of the services from European to Indian is the keynote of the whole.... Co-ordinately ... education is store assist a context of the services are not as a comparable of the context of the context

Dadahnass special respects with quotes trace. Morley mesoded one equiting the sace is work, free "with the noblest aspirations that can animate the breast of man. Such war the histogram and aspirations as in a man was as a ceretrated his thereigh bothday from the parform of Interaction National Congress. The speech cased the Bengal partition a had blunder for England," but one Dadabhai hoped "may yet be rectiffed through "agitation." And addressing himself to the growing distance between Hards and Musaums in the aftermath of partition. Dadabhai collection

a thorough political miner mong the findial people for this because it is no their own hands. They have in them the capacity energy and intellect to halt their own and to get their due diagram all walks of the allowing the several people for the first of the several people for this because it is not been several people for this because it is not been several people for this because it is not been several people for this because it is not been several people for this because it is not been several people for this because it is not been several people for this because it is not been several people for this because it is not been several people for this because it is not been several people for this because it is not been several people for this because it is not been several people for the sever

the prosperity enough for all, out not till then. The thorough the therefore of an the people for their emoneupation s an absortancessit.

They routs saik or saw a logid er. Without this may a lefforts will be youn.

theme of national unity was to be echood by Jamab at every political

1 and ded carring the cavaing decade it which he emerged as
1 1 a A whatsador of Hindu Mushar 1 th "s"

test me Ind. as poetess Sarofin Nord at that Catentia Congress,

and advisered steed a rising lower and a coning pointerian,

as shore effect he affect he pacinesse. She was instantly cop
to the last of a most energies of poetest of young Jimah.

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are so a a humour gay and winning as a child's—pre
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the state of the cause of the consemporaries and how indistinct a gas tew of the consemporaries and how indistinct the state of the consemporaries and how indistinct and the state of the course of related self-government. The find adopted He was politician enough to realize, of course, that is the course of t

• • Lakemanya ("Friend of the Poople") But Congresher Titak (1968-

. . 1 >=> 1926 Pan, and sauden human ensued. The tent had to be in the and hared games For the next nine years Congress re-- A sed a to angree conflicting moderate and revolut many parties, to to be sole nebtly hear to Ind as national povement In . so if the Sura spla revolutionary violence and official repres-

tringhed. Trak was arrest duri the sum ner of 1908, a sarged with refugi for a rai ed orous published a his popular Poona A von Triak represented houself before the high court in transadal attra his attest when he was head without haid the sources of Januals to plead for his release pending trial - ant - ad to no avail for Brotish posters had lossed its . I sales be too less treal began. And all lough franch's argument a totale at once to as Le Lance as a horriere and the is also all aders, ip sotes 1.4 pett or man is glad ave found in this ig to dead on hele it of the leader of a sol tier lipater , and I seem be acreed not only stead up for I ak at its one at or a day, large of subton to 10 6 and won, thus ing the gratitude as well as affectionate admiration of Hindu India's conservative leader

1 d or reforms proposed by Marley and Minto menal v h one has to elected Masson of the expended the of he had a will be the Indian council's bill was 1 909 however, no fewer than six such reats were reserved on a e in whit is more than half of the 1 remainer Bits. of a constant at least two additional bers as manunces off his own but if they were not elected by t sources such as landholders or municipalities, reasing Muslim . I to twee your another tare there on the viceil, more than the actual ratio of India's Muslim minority to the , of the subcontinent. By 1909 even Minto complained of of space for goared to Mahon, daix " Money retoried, . If you are there exten claims that started the M . The secretary of state was by then convinced that "It the wit of man to foune plans that will please Bindus without offend-

the separate electorate formula, which Jineah initially rejected on The equation of the limit of th of Miedica identify, Januah was one of the first half dozen Masha, prom-

1920 and Bengol's fiery Bipin Chandra Fal (1838-1932) competed, however by then with the moderate "o'd guard" for control of India's premier nationa ist organization. Though Tilak and Gokhaie both started as Poona colleagues in pub ic education and national service they differed fundamentally in many wave especially with respect to political taches and plulosophy The Lokamanya and his "new party had no faith o Morley's processed reforms, remetting reliance on pleas or petitions" to British of ciaidom for a yel me, Bingcott was their battle on Best of British machine made cloth and other many factored asports, later of all British astatutions Julia my schools cours and counce chambers. The other side of their econon's many of howeot, was sunderly a of our own country" stumm at mg and genous lad an moustry less less alls cuttons cloth we sen and spon both by mand and more no Ther made su growth or goal but the select e" there deman, ed was not that of British a tizens but of titally judependent by diams It, see he a popular see he Tilak in roca by the mass following he wen a norg nost! Illerate prasance and arban workers were drawn from the religious occurs of claid as a new regional lore, and assuably served to alienate Most or and other minorates as it won Hardy adherents. British officials in the spot varya tried barsher technicians of repression to state this mounting opposition "Fais or the barth make" Morley called that most reflect in a ring with in times was The most popular leaders were arrested and desorted tacks og a new "marter from the Estab Lata Lap at Ra 1865-1928 who became a hero as soon as he was arrested in the spetial of 1907 and so pped off o Mandalay prison. The new party immed at a proposed Lappor Ra as their car house for rest president of Congress Phorogeshan and Cokhale had their own conducte havever, the mild

mannered moderate Calcutta educator Dr. Rash Behavi Ghosh

The factions of it that left Congress form apart for almost a decade expiodeo at the session ii Surat is 130% Next to Bombas, which had so an cently hosted the Congress Surat was he strongest haston of moderate leavership power. Gujarat's center of mercantile wealth. Sir Phoreix due of confident that he could keep the peace and control of his organization the port of Sugar Is had lowever underestmated the passion and state bornness of T. ak and his followers. As Bash Behar, Chosh in wea toward the rostrum uside the Congress panda to read his misider hal address. I lak rose to shout "Puint of order" ale had indicated earlier his intention of Introducing Laga - is conditionly from the Congress from Norme on the peath run per seen he laws a hat id in top he I kamanga If we dithe platform limself and headed for the costman. Several lough young "guards" moved to intercept Tilak, but Gokhale warded them off, Jum mig to his old conseagne's defense and protectively extending his own ners specially elected, in his case from Bombay to sit on the viceror's Centra. Legislauve Gouncal in 1910, three years before he actually outed the Muslim League At that vitie, he was one of the votingest members elected to that high council and would have stood no chance but for the tact that two much older singleted Muslim cancidates, equally matched and antipathetical outsted are another in preliminary slownishes to choose the "Muslim cand date." Januah's secretary recalled that "Juscuss ons went on for hours and in the end both of them decided that none of them should seek ection out should send a tierd cane date and after careful sending the choice to on the young lawyer." That's ingular honor catapited Junah to the side of Gokarde, whose "general" domnay sent had been held before him. If the registrative center of India's government first in Calcutta and Sinna later in Docht soon became one of Januah's most important and powerful stages.

More, 'a retorias also attroduced Indian participation in British India's powerful executive councils, both at Whit had and in Calcutta Simila. Two I that needlers were a monted to the secretize of state's Whitehalf Councel of I sola in 1907 and the first lind on to hold the post of law member of the gover ment of India Satvend a P 5 ph. 1864-1928 took his seat in 1909 A lande brah, . hy birth, Sman was like fromth a barrister and more rate Congress lead in 110s og practice to 1908 was se lucrative that ages digitages in metric as refron me it a cut in his around become of £ .0,000 5 also first medication therefore was to turn down the vicerous invicacio at a luman and Cook are convinced his to accept the job. It's role in its matter further a tests to J analysis from prisonal commitment to the principle of finding he and a to hest quillied for any job regardless of race religion caste or creep Mes in League leaders had lobbled for a Maxim parist to fill the powerful position in India's central government The meague's president at its 1908 American session, fixed An Imam (1869) 1933 was hiself a partister of Landor's Middle Ten, a and would succord Sinha as asymptom after the former resigned in November 1910. establishing the precedent of alter into gift adu Mishim appointees and subsequent communal paints in all oxer tive lapor triums. Born as the Luague was out of the separate. Lectorate Acidem 'affirmative action' demand that organization remained most firmly committed to its to indica principle, proposing names of Missin: candidates for every resportant. The all vacanta-Congress, in the other hard, always was it as a super author tomal and indemner there as higher the larger than the state of the relative goespest erals her lish the toward as lan-Sept and a sept and a sept and a sept as a sep facing the state of the party of the second

and was to use in the Allahabad Congress of 1910 to second a resolution it of "etrough depreciates the expansion σ application of the principle of the Communal Electorates to Municipalities, District Boards, or other limital Bodies."

i and weath. Jinnah spoke at the end of his first year as the Calcutta

Calcutta (1910-15)

On Junuary 25 1511, the Housewall e Mr. M. A Jinuah took has sent as M. as a president read he me of the sets one eigenstructure counce converted the capital of these factor. The educate Localities in the palace are Wellies you as a tomore than cent repeature as easile globel for the estimate more given to to a good to with appropriate centures as Nicero-Minto sompoush, educate la go can a to easile elected advisers in closing Capita Collate Minth School Science and M. A. Jiniah see cital, "Line global to behave that the support of an endarged Colline will give a source the Linds in particular for the soundness of an inconversion may deem tright to a feature.

Ma cas pious hopes were soo, so thered, Januah clashed with the viceron he very first the he ruse to know in the court, addressing to uself to a rose of an that a field fix an expired ate end to the export of indentured Isdian a lore 3 to Sorth Africa. The vidence repression of Satinggrahia, "Noncooperaturs" fed by Garnal: I the Transy as had ignited technics of digitation and grief the original India the ear before Congress then resoured to press apor the Coveriment of India the necessit of promitting the recombined of indeptured Indian about for any portion of the South African amon and of nealing with the author ties there in the same manner in which the latter deal a th Indian interests 2 This vitter are before Calcutta's round or fe or are 25 when I must spoke my saying the samest pant is major or wall have act the try and Belinger in ne con reches a south of and have a house the hard said cruel treate ent that is meted out to Indiane to Scoth Africa " Musto reprerate , to see that the seems deemed "up hards to be used for a friendly part of the Empire" within his Lambers 'Mr Lord" I man responded. "I should feel much in-1 = 10. — such stronger language But 1 am full, aware of the constitution of this Council, and I do not wish to trespass for one single moment, But I do say that the treatment meted out to Indians is the harshest and the leeding in this country is unanimous."

and it is ferchange reflected Linux s courtroom as we like connect . I we have be words gretally and pever retracted any once the state of the s of a the st, test represent hoping his razor sharp mand and to the court had then we now of logic or with drawn against them, at poled at limable response was strock dumb by it "Mr. to the thin state of the day a much sharper Lorent states-Challes Fardence 85% 944, who seem no mild far sales foread up a A career diplomet by training Hurdings a soprastion I I grace set a new tine of arbapity and responsibility in 1. I He was John Moriey's choice for Judia. Lord Kind caser, and a charlof d Industrial and obbit properties of - vicesus alty he covered, but when King Edward VII died in May 1910, the second of the Morar after died, o Isaid age at the area of was park to ready as sortly about the beautiful age thou Beng Is ar house named in a body politic. His first major policy recommendation to · Missessor at Whitehall, Lord Crewe (1858-1948 , was to reunite the same time. the national last against veneral received the and the control of the proper pents A ded, the Bill that was to every been later as the very first non-officially sponsored act in British Indian 1 and the standard gate of Musain to cellet waks for all alle givers or to rel gious - 05 or 1804 Jumah called for logislative reversal of that decision charg-If was apposed to the fundamental principles of Islamic Jurisprudence by a cry instruction of knowledge and unterest one he remained master of at least until 1941, as is attested by bambanse leather-bound set of probate court law reports from 1888-I still preserved to his Wazir mansion library in Karacha His probate and a condition of the same and of Hyderabad, the nawab or Bhopal and the raja of Mahmudabad. I ven in Bougal's partition did so much to help create the League. King

in believes and the true that the more amounted in

2 1911 jolled that arganization out of its loyabit cut. The inwall of

Dacca read in Britain's reversal of partition, the government of India's capitafat on to Congress "agitators, and a sample new message to all Indians-No bombs, no boons!" I gether with his announced annother at of partition, King George V proclaimed his governments is cosmit to shift the capital of British India from Calcutta to Tic his historic parp, where a new imperial gity was to be milt. Detb. had one the capital of Muslim sultans and Mighal emperors who reigners wer must of he subcontinent sence the early thertoenth cen by Delh, remained at the hull of North India's Muslim population, educa for a centers and historic monuments, will in easy reach of Laupe. Agra Deob., 1 Algart and Lacknow (in Jecember 23, 1912) however whin Lard Hard was passed forwigh Do hi's Chandra Chiux 'S ver Market ste, he rephart eading a vicested process on to the ew empital Delh a nost became that a corovis graves and A bomb healed rto harving a howday which one of his quards in mental the Vice roys back exposers, he is added made. The world he issues not one of Indusmost some renergy was over appre anded

, it afternal the riona are mag of Congress as well as the counce. need to the Mason League but held in Bankip it to December of 1972 He is of as not be presented League but was permit a faspence to is council at Bank him supporting a resolution that expanded the Leagues. goals a markede "the attains of a new contract self-government suitable as child." to see see gld two, shrough constructions, in a see selendy reform of the caisting system of adversionable in promoting national mate and fostering a backwart among the property and and be competering is the other constraintes for the earl purposes." A ten months later he went to Lucknow juring Mrs. Naido or the patform as an himorea guest at the sarger League meeting where a new more beval constitution was adopted President Shall in an sent of the min constitution noted that I am in entire accord with my trienc, he Hambur Mr. Litaral, an thenking that the adoption of any course, ther than the one proposed by the tid the I would be abso-, tely us was en. The Lean is a first resolution congress and the Hon Mr. M A J renah for his skille justing of the Wolf Vandating Act through the Imperial Logis ative Council Faceit with such accumi. Jumah could hardly resist renewed appeals to join the Vin. is League pressed upon him that year by its new permanent scendary. Seed Wazer Ha > 187 + 194. and Ma ana Mahammad A.a. 1875-1931 reversed I on I lain course and editor of Comrade, both of whom were deputed to London to lobby there for Mash de man so de cu age a man distante masterlas a more than a large and the hours of the Al in the est would in no way and at no time imply even the sharlow of disloyalty to the arger instituted entities to select this tife was dedicated ?

April 1913 Jinnah and Cokhale sailed together from Bombay for the need with Lord Isangtor Index secretary of state for India and or their Reval Public Services Compussion on which Ramsay heald 1866-1937 also served That leisurely trip was their ongest along but no record a is preserved by either of the subjects they heald shough the commission agenda, general council, reforms, and attimize Hindu Mislam among and altimately of achieving indian fairs were surery among her. Cokhare latter trild Sarvini who that I along the Servants of India Soviet is Ponce before he deed.

It is a "nast the stuff in time and that freedom from all sectarian preparation for the best ambassador of Hadus-Maslim Unity" to the production sounds, yet in las late thortus Jinnah seems to the I are triaggeable class vesport of commission may

It all of a dio cubin in September 1913 and attended the Karuchi . It is redentating his thirty severith in iday ale had not 1 pl. a of both or over seventeen years, and se now warms exa sat at finding it imber of 'personal friends with whom I . I a la sur "He least I and anyoid a result in ou reconstruct tives I a fact that called first of all for the going the salary of the of the and as deput at to the highest their rather than to the same to see Indian toxpasses the burden of . You all the P a shittell The new council J. mah argued. in a find on it wis that more members at least one-third of warm L non-theral I have hosen to a construency consisting of the " " of of I walland but all agreement ometh "" Half clinic entraces when of the country should be public men d I I morning to I with I to an affairs the other half exor dieta is better on years of had an experience no mon-frame I the control of the land of the strains traffer and fenure on it would be limited to five years. Thanks to his work a to was tree of his rising position of leaders, it within too finali was chosen to chair a Congress deputation to London in ong of 1914 to Johby members of Paragment and Whitehal, on Lord operate in Corp. Let I du Bill. I mab also seconded a the section age to a right Loughe for adopting "the the transfer of a stander Batal I upore, and express let as a set of the leg is so complainedly til . hat a senth are no consider copropies the good on as a sent in the new commenters t s 15 "H

From Karaele, Jumah entrained to: Ages, where the Musley League mot

on December 30-3., 19.3. in the former twin capital of the Mughal Empire He was bus by twork seeking a formula for a nging be two political or gamzations together on a such national made in this position was unique for not only did he be or g to Congress and the Musin: League, but he was also uside the government's camp both in London and Care etta. Not even Cokha e or he Pherocesiah were as strategicady positioned to hear all the views in the major was affecting India's joint all forms At the Agra sessing of the League I mad proposed postpooring reaffirm non of hit in the principal it command represent an or another year erging his corch grounds that a compet all representation would only divine buls, into two watertigh compartments. * Concressed adjust referred action on that question, and Junich opened to it were many other reasons for his uring postpone wat the tragger hough be could not give any of they reasons a publicater ababy a idea to be supliced conservations with Lokhale or con our taks with Widderborn and other M. Us of the Batod Committee of Congress At any event he was obscored pure ang a journey other a section of the work of the property in for Luckness in 1918. The MI same aragine often howevers o reject [15] his last for ral appeal to their were not the practice of their offer where section signate electorate For meta "a say the secondary to the Length sea are finite fure really was inc is no which a majorit of the aleague's members would long remain at odds with I much

He sever the for London in April of 1914. Other members of Jinnaha mentigens dept due rate ided Congress. Bergal president elect. Bhi peritura Na i Basi. 1859–924. and Lal Lajpat Rat, who arrived a few weeks after Linux Crewe mit with the congress dept tation, soon after the arrived finding Jarrah at least tax, of the pack, he is the coast red him "active" for vine remarked as twee assas a that they would be gold if disperts in my order now be recorded and laid before Parliament on the motion of a Member "in".

By historic concidence. Junah and Mohandas K. Candli. (1969-1948) were both in Location of the start of World War. Barrister Candh had gone to Nata. 1. 2893 to work for an Indian Masker trading con paint. South Africa, and he generated ruore can two decades de sunguest estimate had tax to the Truth's facturing of the solent non-coperation in the Truth of a six plant for the solent non-coperation in the Truth of the solent non-coperation in the solent no

as an add neither the army nor the Field Ambusance Training Corps raised 1 the Manatma Jamah's own mission had ended in tital failure all En-. I hearts and minds were preoccupied with war with no one group a were a dought to India, referrns. The work of the Islangton Commission or on the same t best of ordifference that swallowed change for the in a dilucta Morley quet the alt not as restrait on and as gue, at how I lis you ger Liberal colleagues led by 1 y 1 George Edward Gray, at ' star Charchal reshed toward he precipice of Armageddon Pasel qui sive self represents, priffed up well pride and dieuras of * a 1 expected a swift case victory Kit it iet it one, who tack of the War Office with waved moustaches as starp as the top of he commercia los algoridad enched battle of ritaria dispat - 1 of 11 mar jower and at its it told. India became a wormly ota's less Albed and of troops when morey and vital mamy stather goods to iferms and ag son shipped west through ner the war.

bet if 19 4 how ser when the Ottoman cal ph opted to ink and force and torons with he territy havers in her than joe ing " I all a last on the last ap Mask the acties and sopply chall 1 1 cm ledender and by two thoch the coph was revered It is all a Chaman to are last after going found that the at the about relace lensing are at was some trying to my the for presidence in South Asiam "Pan stands Revolt" South es dia finne tels gromadiess nel though a few Mas. i. the ballisar is I be odowing our an Singapore virtually every dele a to the table, Are process ruch as salt" and A des from as well as far at Mas as recorded with I was a back some of Beit sh India's army Missing regiments were used without defection in Meropotamia itself, as well as on the - IV a respect tions the Mast a Legue held no meeter i a ser 19' set et ag ils deet a undeu cellings of the first entirely providing a torus for expressions the auto British sentement

he led, gave a garden party to welcome Gardin back to
the led, gave a garden party to welcome Gardin back to
the continuous corps had safed for France without its
to the continuous colors and advantable for the colors
to continuous techniques to be so there techniques to jumple the means welcome was that he was "glad to find
the continuous techniques welcome was that he was "glad to find
the continuous techniques welcome was that he was "glad to find

cal progress 16.

it." 5 Had he meant to be man our rather than bus asual ingenuous self Gandle could not save contrived a more clevers patron ring barb, for he was tot actually assiting journey after als just informing even one of bis minority reng its identity. What an odd fact to single out for comment abou this auditaceted man, whose dress, behavior speech, and manner totally beared any resemblance to his religious affiliation. Juniah in fact, hoped by his Angloph . oppearance and wender wit and wesdom to cony nee he Haran majority of his a leagues and countrymen that he was. indeed as publied to lead up, of their jub is organizations as Countile or Wedderham or Daccona Let 3 re in the best public words Gandha thered about him every one laid to note that I pind was a "Mahomostica." That first status with or Garul's set the tone or theorie/amoust ip always at odds with deep reusions and aristrust raiders, ig its a pertir as polite manners never french revercesthal The scenero aways to be sparre even before they put on any given it was as if severance us a three recognized one another as actual one sees civate for not one power positions and chartements combol of their and cases however small or assessmely vast they neight becom

Cokha ex don'th a Februar 9,5 followed a few months later by the deniso of So. th rogers and lett Jaman virtually alone. Dadables remained in Lore on for his small two years at the head of Bombas's o elerate (or griss Thak receased tran Barmene prison code in Jime of 2014 was the and aputed haro area rational lower of the "New Congress party. The Lorannengas 10 as tills was marked yet he was almost with and a hor and would reas more on equal to achieve some entrasted to Januali than rev out mary agra, or for the last we a decade or his de A new hommar in the construction of India's nation ast leadership was Mrs. Annie Bestall 874-993 who eight a Madrix * Fix its over the Themsephical Society founded by her grow, Manague Blay daks a custaved to out New India and start her Home than League of 19,5. Just us on Ty I has to do the same a year after in Poona Mis Bosant's ris, temper streeton and orator, am mexhaustible onergy were four-sed in 19,4 to on sees ug to reur if the still tily ded congress Jimma lid is best to help worsing desternash at the same time to bring Congress and the Missem Le gue together for the annua meetings in Bomber

The December 22, sees most congress and the Language were the first bead a thrivally of star and a number of a number of star and a star and a number of star and star a

the rab new worked together to fashion a formula agreeable to all potions and communities while reiterating Congress's general major
all for referre. Sinha focused on three specialism matters concerning
to had found pract in constitute of operion. The first called for
the second for quadried Indians and "military training for the jeethe second for extension of local self-government, and the third for
the second for extension or local self-government, and the third for

1 a Muslar League met inder the presidency of Bengal barrister
1 11 are 1866-1921 another Congress liberal committed to
1 1 a contributor acceptable o bornorganizations several League
test pre-against holong any meetre, they can fearing that what
1 are red that

the base at these times would have been lable to righ and misis not ripretation. There is no such the givest mening still
it would be here we associate an holding the League contemporanat the such Congress in the same case is no deal a how is, he
tip in a distribution of the same case is no deal a how is, he
tip in a distribution of the same case is nothwhalaby with that
the case Nothing in life to her free the first Commution in a vidical way, and contents their individuals. When
it is would not a constant their individuals and at almy in-

there was a must less, many members of the League who attemply re-I con a ppr who on Angev less dants hal or the nercurial 11. 1 M or 1875-150 moved can our alles recting of the " I sat I s exemp sitting on Jecomber 31 19 5 Jimah had and a south the car when Managa Mohari imped up to I at a con the nesider orders to be to "please set down" to a contract of the base of the base tent rected - w Maria and a supplied Mehon's at emp to adjoint I had a more the reason of a special committee to be need to a to be a practically who filter the visitor rows rate to a result. Harry "It you are a Mohammedan. . . . a will. What me by the Ho Co can osks you to dress "I a. You have Molecular ongo You pose to the second of th ma and to the late made for collect constitution (from Dual Azir

"Great Leader" A number of bearded Pathons in the audience rushed the dass, showing angrits in Pashto, Hasrat Moham called Urds, the only "proper anguage", which is hora Washim League proceedings. Every one in the crowd of severa thousands was standing, many shouting at once since willy asking their arms Jonah heiped escort the laders in attendance with act and or aid Bombay's commissioner of police. Mr. Edwardes nonchalantly sta dieg was the tent keeping his men mert Japaah toid Edwardes that the crowd made had become as disorderly the meeting could not proceed and test those causing the disturbance were public visitors. who have been such thed out of courtest and by "ker" " He asked the conmissioners resp to clear the tent of somewhers offering to reland the notices instant to of an one who had paid for a tacket bedwardes not used to be of such sensity service nowever insisting to would use his force only to the true test entirely if a or sea that the situation uside was out or control. Junal preferred to eage Provalen II que to adjourn the overing and her et wire to a segue's enders later that day in the presidents house te la t e the next e , sessem

The Mann of rague was requiremed on New Year's Day 1916 in Bomone sicily that Mate Motel Atte dance was street, imited to regular new servand the press treadent Haque opinion the decting at 6 00 cm accurating right a ne nevous decorders the realless por Mr Januals. Who was recoved with and chosen. "As president of the Bombas W. e. i. Show its come a san a same don if the south and "increwer it song of Bowbin, "I River hairen with a mountain a most in hill as Kitchener's and leav as a rapper a sounder the Roma Coleman, dressed it to Anthons been, and was adored by most women at first 5 the aixl admired or envised by most are. He reported (a missioner Edwardess pag headed behavior to or es of "souther to coal is andrew to proved the manimously carried reso in to appear a special commettee to for plate and frame a schere of reforms in consultation with other 'political' organizations the two paraes of Congress which would allow them to demand a single plat form of reforms " with name of I sated and a " That reso ation was greated with mud appress A committee of sevents one graders of the Mill in League was appointed, represe in gievery province of British India via. charred by Juny his cross travally and chemit Rain Sir Mohama and M. Monammad Khair Bad ad in the raja of Mar radal at 1872 1971 omnition encoders from som as or a he Aga khan \$877,067 and Junas those from my man that a tenth of the way the and Market and a trade of the state of the perconsequent full A. K. Fash: Hart (1893-1982) in its canks, Before that specting in the Lag If President Haque remarked upon "the great work done for the and risen Phoenix-like from the ashes by his friend Mr Jinnah." add-The course Mohammedan community of India owed have a deep debt for titude for without his exertions they could not have met a. Bondou, "On a couple or but the president their turved to Jianah, saying Mr Jinnah. In Mohammans of India thank on. "If It was the first such in bute Jinnah on the Muslim congue but would not be his last.

4

Lucknow to Bombay (1916-18)

For a rid 1916 was a year of nation I fame and good fortune. After help not save in Mes in Longue to a dissortion it. Bombas he was elected to see the rice he gits of loop in Lucknow counts of the one neglition of manuals of One. When I rope fore to Lapartial along the water to be and a polarial horizon that seemes ablace with the gole a cown of annument freedom.

Largeb was recovery for a second term to Bombay's Muslim seat on the Central Legislative Council and used that forum to good advantage representing the Congress by gen proposition once traffed to London Congress and at a ptop to man course tree beader by Vistilal Nebra (18-1) 193 who my ted its numbers to less paratio. Adal apad house in Apra to discuss he woposed reforms with Lingue leaders. Part of the fortune ha had carned as a lawyer was leveshed on hospitality and support for Corgress in I for Mrs Beamts in a Bala Lought which Mot la funded most gen musty. The elder Nobes admired Joseph saturback, had to friends at this time as "unlike most Muslans . . as keen a nationalist as any of us. the is show pg as a commigate the way to H adu Musle a roty. For a whole they su morres one another a the Central Legislative Cours I but by the gite 92 s Motifal our Limits became bitter rough. Motifal a fierce advecate and tenacious arester wanted personals to it dilutar naturnaist movement to independence, or hoped at least to bequeath such power to us serve much the lane as a lagosite of the vertest contest sum se to issee the series of parties in a market now good his birthe happened 16

I to the sell face toward a Michigan to craft

be Freedom Paci" that was to be sealed at Lucknow Dubin lay shattered items under martial law. The haster Rising of 1916 was as brotally to shed by kitchenges army in Ireland as was futured Jo'ro vivor's Indian as who by disease incompetence and Turkish troops in Mes potate is that he month Contrary to indicational expectation, shatte ingovery williged on and dream the air con mod intension in grataer than thoring in its 1 fair with the increasible lead to its rage, you aming every more and has lemands for these terms of them.

Lan lemands for direct re-accountment with the self-governing do minors of the Imperial Conference intensified Crowe left the line is office replaced. I to the Chain terrain 1863-1937 in Max Hardat I found it reputs the quote Finant themands for a greater role. The benefits greeing hat it is claim to a resession at a vector at all imperial confirmates was set if Cuzon and Kichener self-dominating as War Chaint however it range was ground By and 116 hr. of It. and was repriced as a 1-1 and minispured and a asspiring cavaire coptain Lord Chebraford (1905-1833).

tries his meeting at Allahabad Jimah went north o Derpeling to in the next two a neths of atress Box has heat have thorne or the and some of its oliver and friend St. Dies as M. norkjet Peter. 873-1st The Petits were one of Box is a weightness Purse as its text to er tes whose east forther was to give by Ste Doughard sequencies, a great If ther who came to Botthan from Strat a 785 to weaker as a to golors and dubash two maging miterpreter for the Britis. Last the Company French neighbours and sort with this bright ver could I a clerk lubbed own Le petti Para " Lie meknaire because his daad are summer His san Marsocker Pe I for more Burnhay's first suc-1 ofter all which grow into he spread . A more Mills complex . Int less The first account by Deastan's started Bornbar's powerf is Mills . r Associator in 1815 which he chaired from 8 9-94 fle ascisery d . the frusters of the Sure has Parse come into a lost sacred mator go is assume away and woper disposition of the dead upon one or of Silvace The charts. June now had be in instrumenta a securing and terror to and proble present against of the Parsi Succession . My good at the manuals holped ages ages The Peter family if not oil a doing the not st. - also one of the most devout a hadra has a mass. But I also the most the most century With the death of the Best Sir Dinshaw in 1901 his entire name, fortune, al religious dutus and responsibilities passed on to lits son, whose first the simple darker had been not in previous very exatoria to the property of the state of the s Liame diproces a syl too to the Claren

way. As she matured, all of her talents gifts, and beauty were magnified in so de ightful and unaffected a mauner hat she seemed . "fairy princess," almost too love v too tragile to be real. And her mind was so alert her and ect so vely and probing that she look as much interest in politics as sho did in romantic poetry and assisted on attending every public receting held in Bombay during 1916, always sitting, of course, in the first row chaperoned by her multim hone re philanthropist" maiden aunt, Miss Mamaha, Petit 8

That summer when Rithe was sixteen and Jinnah at least forty, they shared he Peti chatea, with p view of Mount Everest, perched 7,000 feet high in the id-la "Town of the Thanderbe t -Darfeeling where only the chorees tea plants are the stort snow clad maintain preas and admited truly we nessed the passionate games of longing and love that passed between these two.

That October vi. 916. Junah presided over the Bombus Provincial Co ference is the edulad the text le capital of Caparat, wealth and power in an improved anatoming province a governments from as that of Bonhay it to visitady as trummos sinder is trational responsible to elected represen at ves of the pearle. Missims and Haidus, wherever they are in a the ordy having proper adequate and effect a representation." As to all district and restrong I governments of Jianub real-rated the arguments of Liberta's Japon and Morley as stag they "should be wholk elected that the seesent the a control exercises by the Collectors and Commisstoners shown be a neved that the sharman should be elected by the Bineris and the exofficial President should be lone away with that a por tion of Excise rever is or so in other definite so recoil revenue should be mad on who il se Bothes so that they was have adequate resources at their d sposal for the more performance of their dates." It wend have meant no less than transforming the all powerful Inman (vi Service atterne ser vants if respons his India: a vision Jimnah's racical proposa s for character did not hower r stop there He asso Jemanded an end to "the unpest ap pheation of the Arms Act to the people of Iskua from which the Europeans are exempted" called for the rupes, of the Press Act less resort to the murtial aw" Detence of Insua Act specifica is denouncing its recent application to have no Mrs Besant from Bombas, and sumediate enactment of a free una compulsory measure of the son ary education. He as sea that Lid a is should have long a accident a mitted to rot dicon massens in the orms and navy, uxiding, "If Indians are good enough to fight as so; or an-I mes, ol, I is not good only to a gold position of officers? "

Iterah carehuled his Bombay Conference address with the "all dweet se quer on" of Hanns Mushir andy

I believe all thinking men are thoroughly convinced that the keynote of our real progress lies in the goodwill, oppoord, harmony and coqueration between the two great saster commentary. The true orus of progress is centered in their union. But the solution is not diffi-

Jinnah was speaking as an advocate for the Muslim community as a mile the was but expressing his own poblical reology or reflecting his a tence. The burden of saerabce he arge I tell upon the majority community, yet their reward would be commensurate

I would, therefore, appeal to my Hindu friends to be generous and Away and welcomend encourage there a tive es of Miss, is ever if it involves some sacrifice in the matter of separate electorates. t is a question . . . of transfer of the power from the bureaueract to democracy. Let us concentrate all our attention and energy lead to accument the Lands and le Mas ass and not distind so every constitution along a triage means to effect that transfer as soon as possible. . . . We are on a straight mad, the promised land is within sight "Forward" is the morte and and to orang oid a

. I mali more pro-stic. The future for richa's coved as pright, a this and a sad on my that it hattle le were s is any blose soiled any height reduce to like all lauriers. So at least it must have seemed to him then, at the peak in I final sowers of the ion, to as to mad at Laukanes

I test he went to Calcutta, where the Imperial Legislative Council still I for its winter season, the New Delhi of Luylens and Baker rlong so b on the spacious plans south of the old city's massive wall and gates it would not be ready for council use till the late 1920's. Before October and Junual was able to convince eighteen other elected members of to a council to sign his "Memorandium of the Nineteen," which was presented to the viceroy and sent on to Whitehall. The memorandum the transfer particle of son disent and was such a directive of the Legis a c a lax sphote are it cheered I was to be a more att Mesons the transfer and the property and representation." A supreme council of not fewer than 150 members, sciousal controls of from 60 to 100 nice sers svere record time ed were to enjoy greater responsibilities and parliamentary freedor a s to do not a secondary to the second

by two permanent undersecretaries with one being Indian with salaries "places on the Birtish estimates" in any schedue of imperial federation, Incian should be given through the closer, representatives a place similar to bat of the self-governing Dimemons. Provincial governments should be made autonomous a "full neisure of ocal self-governments should be made autonomous a "full neisure of ocal self-governments should be made autonomous a "full neisure of ocal self-governments should be made autonomous a "full neisure of ocal self-governments should be carried for the salaries of the arrived forces."

The memorandum provider a skelet dicors, tution for an Indian domin ion which, had this proposal been accepted by the British after World War a good lase taken its place with a He British Camen awardth, united lova to every dea for which the A les had length progressively modern izing under responsible leadership. The war was still far from over, how ever, and the full report of how Indian arms had sustained their worst actest in Mesopotan , was as yet to be it's used, rechning British tailled. sportling Indian to its lowest point given as the Revertion soon to rock I say a work strep the All as father contern a Mr. The British War Cabinet tragically lacked he year or course one gs to focus afternoon aport and cike the obsidered been land it in tea india. The winter of 1916 had offered Great Britain, as well as India, one of those rare opportunities in histor when a crosting wave could be caught and ridden toward a welcoming shore but if a seed on the crosh with murderous impact on the heads of those too preocoupled, timid, or ill-prepared to seize the swiftly chargon, 131001190917

J much cought a spectroular ride in the crest of a torreals his inguinus legal mind had fash once, and which he was at # to convince I ongrished that A.C. Maximidar to accept, after meeting with him for two days in Calcutta in mid November. The key to their Lincknow Pact lay in agreeing upon person ages of paranteed "N ishim members" for each of the legis office councils one that at the creater and in Bourna's one half in the Punjab, 40 percent in Bengal, 30 percent in the United Provinces. 25 percent in Burrand Orasia, and 5 percent at the Central Provinces and in Maxim Except for the Punjab and Bengal, where M ship reprise tation was such a less than the fraction demographic equivalence warranted, the minor is community received a tonder registance conce than population returnities alone would have dictated, As an even more vital safeguard to reasse. Must mis who fewer mong Islamia a centry with an a fiture "H adu Bay the pale provided that

No bill nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a nonoil on more by the factor of the control of the control of to be determined by the members of that community in the Legister Council concerned, shall be proceeded with it the countries of the menders of that community in the particular Council Imperial or Processes, oppose the billion or any clause thereof or the resolution.

Jumah left no loopholes in the contracts he drafted

that is great and inspiring to be common affairs of men, for which and not valued of mankind nove used and wrought and sufficient all ages and all comes, a now moving India on afts depths," I resident Januah from the Muslim League's rostrum on December 1916.

for a hink country is awakening to the call of as destary and is seaning to whomeons a thought hope. A new start of early stress,
ad an and less 6 from is abroad in the ondo that day the sare.

The stortings of a new life. The Musalmania of India would be
to become use and the enditions of their had they not
sharred to the full the new hope that is moving India's part into sons

to be add the field to expend to the end at their marry
care, the that of their Hindu Language even a fixed in the call at their marry.

the themen of the Alkhud... Mushos League, remember that the construction and of the solution of the size of the solution of the size of the solution of the solution of the league of the solution of the fare and Lattan beginned to be must be adort and advised to their firthern Musalman. On the rate of the size of the

will age a make or passionate a from a public platform. He can the late dailing basterd and despertice politic maximum at or a few dailing and "noting such eliches as the can be a few or a few ways and Democratic astructions can be a few or and of the least, reporting them all as "baseless"

has I mail to dethe I viry and vigenous spirit of patriotism and the inverse technique and energy of the area of the inverse techniques and energy of the area of the inverse from a control of this epirit is that it has taken its rise from a control of the inverse from a contr

This vita portion of his Lucknow addless later proved so embarrassing to the League's goals that it was excised from the official pamph of subsequative air alled any reproduced by advocates of the Pakistan Movement Such ex sorsh, was however screly as masguided a masteading for to ignore the potent power of | anal s commitment to Hindu-Miss in and in 1916 and make at impossible fully to appreciate the tenacine of his use determination to Liurg Pakistan to trist out I small understood perfectly that Inc. a smally hope all careeging as a national enaity undescendent and strong from a der cac hard of witing importal rule was through pror abatement of the anume cars suspice is and residual antiopies. His standing with r Congress was six that he managed to personne cleagues there of the over dog rational alue in corned gial arge enough anta a elect di leg say we come I scats to Mislims, in he able to convince the League that jeurightees with Congress in articlating a single and onal set or lemands. wis nitget, a time was best "command" over st. This demostely negotrated cettler a centred as much to his comarkable legal taterus as it did to his assistant and a a st corr atmen

Dy a new opense would have predict that it goast half "our constitution battle and seen we already". The said that any demand have on the standard trace of the said that the regard but one and coronastances into a case a prose cross stale. Who the restoration a packet half of problems to the state the hold and generous and one had so that the hold and generous and one had so that the first that all services so clear and surple they no rational. The congress league plan eached the Lucking Pack, provided in horizon for independent to the constitution from the improvement, worked and every step for translating his schemic rate in gishter results.

After you have a lopted the scheme of reforms you should see that the Congress and he was a long case concerted near rest have 18 I crafted a some at moral lawrens, can a rending R like the Comment of I to 18 Comment of I

Let me well or a add at the energy for the first and an dec a nitorianately, the backnew Pact was never implement that

"s adoption marked the high point of Indian nationalist in the and provided to fixed and rational a constitutional framework for governing the subminiment of South Asia as any subsequent plan decised after years of labor to respondence, and the precious should have been wasted. But is tracers were no quite reads however to apply the Wilsonian principle of "self-leter markion" to heir Indian empire.

ongress met ust a few da's hefore the League at the same historie 8 art Rogh. Recal Carden of Lecknow As firs reunfied session y nos to set spit at year attracting more disa 2,300 accepts. "bassed are the makers, said President Mazandar welcoming Tilak and his aging one" party hack to the fold Janing to the find Musaim "question," to indicat amounced it.

cas been settled and the Huidus and Mussilmans have agreed to
to hed deniald for Sell-General mont. The All Julia Congress
to any the review actives of the Most a Longity will reinformative conference, at Cabulty 1, we after two digits conferentions of the sevent of the All Language and the account
to write of hindure.

111 ever the political remain remarked. We are ready to make a constant with any set of the 1 shall not likely account facilities the decision facilities from the act of the consectorways with the search that well promote the 1 of the Nate of

It is not part as N w he was ready of a fit to be acted test and approximately have a solution to be acted test and approximately have been approximately and approximately approxim

to report the second of a seco

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as a friend to Jamah after that I nir of such a better and rude awakening to what everyone cise is Bombas abreads know Not would be same on the marriage under any circumstances. First he fort a fluttle ever to see Jamah and at east while she remarked to nor under I pa dial root of fine marole. Then he sought legal rerordes, alir glan apprehen to prevent their marriage of ce site came of tige based in the flars. Marriage Act, but he was pitted against a barrister who rarely lost air case and could gladly have died before surrencering in this natter Productably puritages flatties passionate devo ion to her self-causer I usuand to be only intensified, thanks to her father's adamant insistence that she never see him again Julia ! The she would not be deterred by prep dies or the reference of her parents Sir Dinshaw met I s not quitely in stabilion tour or twice over in the long-suffering commented on the supre Sidera part nell passionately these wasted t would attack a majorit at right on old married just a few months. But that as soon as the ast again search would be shart if as de two proches respectable court open ewent.

The er are title and it was proved as frestratingly difficult audi for a pre-word others Rotte schaffer. The Meapot Disast it or Basturd War as the cream. Iraq describing the box from mos and to be called rel to many a gry pacstons in both and to a requires that revealed a few acompositioner is the shaperest of Atter meeter stapping and they weal or some I from Landers, ports to the Person Guilt Secreta a c State Cha berlan accented the er or "I saw" through harely deserved. as his own responge is a command of the tidia Office in and 9." Thanks to that sacrile and sowers I herd have b Montaga a 1879-118 was placed a charge of It dia and a sec a the Horse of Commons of August 20 1917 to amounce that the new inspiring policy of His Majesty's Cox enment with set in an Coverment of I did are as employe accord is hat of he acre sang association of Indians in ever, branch of the admin istra- in and the grade a texcopinert if self-governor rist (ii) ins with a view to the sogressive rea sation of respons the government.) Incha as an integral part of the Balash Flagure. Here at last appeared to be the promise of "dom non states" that policeal leaders throughout Incla and awaited since the war began National stie es gloss di wer the "grace." development and progressive realisation, read goods the self-government institutions and "responsible government mantrix o Monago franca Imperia ist Curzer rather that Mortage sates the Hene present all sower I more set War I art me our god with the a affirm subgurd advocators as vis quer a thesto ever det Montagus tenure at Whitehall, In the winter of 1917, however, Edw.

Montago became the first secretary of state for Ind.a actually to visit the al out-pent while held up that high office

Air apprent complexity of India its plural sm and paradox affected to it and deeper as it did most shors from afair though he had toured the country once before in 1913, and, as a Jew, considered himself "an Oriental" end priver stern so many people, so much poverty, amid so osteniamous of was th and hower . Ind a fascinated and terrified I in so hat by all this journey he was horough a masted tree rated and dra ned 1.4 and ligabrious Musiago was trained by India Pattered by a mits of her weapone shocked at the magnitude of her problems I had and disorrented by the official royal treatment he received.

. in publical leaders Mentago talked with a loci. Jamah me-Lor test Tong perfects mannered impressive looking, armed and the standard tree and prestent upon the whole of his scheme

Chelmsford tried to argue with him, and was tied up into knots. . I was and it is, of ourse at intrage that such a man we no chance of running the affairs of his own country "If Montagu 16 251 250 m

visit to India means that we are going to do something, and some-. a ga home and prod c a h le tar g or nort again must be epoclimaking, or it is a failure, it must be the keystone of the the first term Noticing is want by in comfort - the stoff to carry this sort of thing off. For the first time in my I wish I looked like Curzon. . . . I wish Lloyd George were here; I de la la fall a anct had one I wish 4s a tha were nere. to term of India's missfortunes that I am alone, alone, alone the perneer that has got to carry this thing through.16

I to it it if or prisor toucks to Jinnah's persona appeal to number on her behalf, invited Montagu to attend the Calcutta over which the was to preside that December "Oh, if only Lloyd of the Unit Montage nomined to his dury. He of causes dash down to the Congress and make them a great oration. the cong or It might save the whole situation But the I am Congress, the real Indian political movement, is in to be to some few we men, the only Fing islawoman, to be nt punishent of the Congress, her reward for the suffering she expethe regularity and as merals a much took to ton a much at her long library e a maha di acter Mrs Besant's attenument on June 13, 1917 and Ruttle was one of her most ardout consiers just order 5 000 delegales and almost as many visitors attended to Care the Congress, where Junah moved the most important resolu on cache, for implementation of the Lucknow Pact reforms, 2 resolution carned by accompation. A tew days later Jonah moved much the sume resolution before the Viushan Lengue which "strongly argus upon the Government the annied accumulation of a Bill or body og the reforms contained in the Congress-League Scheme of Decenaer 1918, as the first step one rds the management of responsible government. As the prospect responsible government appeared a fran closer many of his Lazque colleagues were growing more concerned that Mislim interests would be ig-whom Maslims do not appress of a newsite which is carried by a ballot box do you think that I could be varied out and admin stered in this corpery Mash has should not have the lear that the Him as can pass and log vition, as they are in a majority and that would be the end of the matter "" He strong v any sed the Miss in League not to be "scared away" by "your coopers from the speciation with the Hinday which a essent a full elestablishment elself government in

Ma la n. Moha acid 4th Lad has a rected to preside over the Musaui Leagues Cir. etc. session, but las have a six ply threighous the nicelang as or consequenteering ender Louis arrest with his brether Shaukar An-

873. 836 5 not 1 5 the 4 brothers had been inder arrest by the exercise tribude its mata inner genry provers. The newspapers the edited Concrade and Iransdard had argued days rubb, in schalf of Caliph Med. Hamis of the Ottom. I be at 1 at brief of other adon retained splint 1 stronger for over two version entering the precise reasons for arresting time two in the 1. Land or seed that it as non-a the Central Lagis's occount an 191" and was toro may "they were interest discount this expresses and promoted sympathy with the Kings ingroups. If The As brothers become an Indian stronger and has been for Handiss as well, and were a right of the Mahasina Candh as beefirst great national rause in prosition to the British rea.

While Goodh courted popular Muslim support by allowing house't must outspokenly with the strategy on the fall of the Million titlers he sought simple tancovsty and won office I confluence by curring all finition to call stim the British time. Both postable appeared parameters to be plus who and never considered to Million on a red of the first parameter of war and that have no and of the first parameter of the many filters.

wall a melecular and arm of the excel Brillan's ofen-

the same footing as the European Brush subjects before being the same footing as the European Brush subjects before being the same footing as the European Brush subjects before being the same footing as the European Brush subjects before being the same footing as the same footing and subject to the people of I did "Cheimstord anguly rebuled that possion as ing," to which Jinnah match rep ed, Is a bargaining, consistent I in a character of the same footing as the European Brush subjects I is that bargaining?" As I amber of the outer I just have defined to the war that the same footing as the European Brush subjects I is that bargaining?" As I amber of the outer I just have defined to built the Arn, in Did, out Brist he had the arm appears engagement to other in Bombo.

I ad a d leathe on Friday Apr. 19, 1918, at his house. South . . . Meant Plas nt Road stop Malaba. Hall in Bon ay She had there do soul a thing a shi removed a nonsoctation with New a Rattes re- wes attended her wedging. She had at control was more med as if dead by Sir Danshaw until sie and are a san a decade after her had more a 7th raja of I all states the proper Muslim friends of he mili ac-thers g b " Mahmadabad's son and hear reculled. and at their hones moon a No callin our house "24 It was not Dargeviling, yet perched over a mile above sea level, Naini was the a me but he Vin vin as will is Mahrendal ads aked best and to a the san there is new over onles of anch it as through rich 1 1 1 tronders the profess obseration and joy of being h a come of whose natura beauty seemed barely to the bliss they found in one another

to the whole the accept of the hills, the compact of the accept the accept of the accept the accept

with bited laughter recorded the world of her heat iful presence. Jimah with his bristling back moustache and brillant vilum notes ever, pressed as smartly us may british ford inside Brakingham seemed the perfect consort for his british and as locked it at pring of 1928 as hap a and fulfibrial as they test with a sart that perfectly heatthat her had reason to expect that the fature might be one long after of continuing happiness, if not others I have

The De he war conference was the first sattleground on which I much confronted the man who was to beer me his teremos, contenuer for national promune ce and it her power it th his tomes moon not but over Janah conheard was blamed perhaps for indivesting any art how potent a force was arrayed against in that has a sewen had naked across the viceron. conference table. It response to the invitation I went to Della," (in the recalled, gratu to a vivotesting. It was not in my notice to placate an one by adulation and tho cus of selt as seed at Recogning this event all all a decade later as the Malar in shore experiments that Truth would in spire in Thors of young Indian water scale its the world over to emulate his satures (und) is a digot of or over grove who he had done nor could ful the ded to special he Masher case to the Vicerox "he nexted area rug la 'properated the tions to partie out of a conference that perform excluded the Ali brothers. Thus, after reaching Della, he wrote to Land Chamsterd ex narring by hes tot on to take part in the efference He moted he to discuss the grown on with min. I had a prolonger the expire with him and to critical Normal r. Mr. Maffey, As a result I agreed to take part in the conference '20 Candhia and however was to be conflored to secondary the ker resortion on reen ting the arms for the arms and "As regeres the Muslim demands I was to adoress a serior to the Vierges. Has ing copitul ted to Chel naford, however the Visitatina was so conscience stricker at what he is a greed to that he resolved to do it as briefly a paletably as possible. His second would be one short sent nee. Will a till sense of a responsibility I beg to support the resource." He de ve rd that sestence normover, first to Haid, and ther translated it house Faole English Then In his Autoriography in focused on the in ral language has had used not on the words spoken in the usear ugful suspect the rendered to martial vidence and the British war in tohing

Many congratulated me on my having spoken in Hindustani. That was now to ask return only a growing forces have a series of the more than a series of the more than a series of the discovery to the first more in the discovery to the first more in the series of the serie

What a tragedy that the language of the country should be taboo in meetings held in the country, for work relating to the country, and that a speech there we find stant by a stray and vidual his myself hould be a matter for constant in Incident when the chose are reminders of the low state to which we have been reduced.

I nable to admit how wretched he felt at receiving the congratu oftens of many imperialists for having abandoned nonvolence to corry favor vice a scene. Suith expressed his true techniqs as a straind vidual chains inde was "hart" but justified them to his own memory and could purely on national anguage grounds [there was in fact, indicated the scenes will the reason Candhi "reft file." I me into brown the scenes will the reason Candhi "reft file. I me into brown the scenes mental breakdow before the end of the land of the reason of the country of the country of the scenes of the scene of the scenes of the scene

I do to od to move a substitute nationalist reso at on but was rided of the seros had to grante and sent Ch. usford Jianah and all W. Caland ask till or ago and to fight the approximation and which a derived to their own country. A subject rice capital to be to other with the heart and energy with which in the race can fight for fixed of the ford others it ladia as to a also great as rifices in if the fine central bulbana after in the Parent and not should be bet be that she a tighting for her own freedom as of the amount of the nations index he British Grove and to be a different nerve to sound by England of the ast - and a comment a example of find a wall is a cefficte period an art the Congress Le que scheme as the first stage 1 10 - effect he regroduced at Par ament at once "24 Had If her mit to the right heliand Jinpal's leadersh p at Della m. the auditor as revelor as over after Together they the standard Brand to tand I that to done overwight but a create bare accounted the conster of power timetable. They to even have avoided partition

of and the control of the standard with Jinnah. Bounded in the control of the standard with Jinnah. Bounded in the standard of the standard of

bitterness in them which cannot be eradicated and for my part I am not going it attempt the task $^{\rm 20}$

Governor Wit impdor convened his own provincial was conference in Borniary, town hall on June 10. 9.5. Juniah was there and must have felt the blood rush to mis free as Writingdon remarked. Then are a certain number of operations, some of whom have considerable influence with the public many of them mills here of the political organization called the Home Rule League whose acts they have been such of late years that I cannot howestly fix some if the success, of here support 2. That they do amend Willingdon's proposed resolution missing here hald he no three Defense without those it the successful has a gradered to leave the conference Jinnah than rose to speak and said he was

pained very your pared, that H's Excellence should have thought fit o cast doubts in he sometrers at I the Lingles of the Home Hille) Part I was very more but with the attended or part be most enter has employed in test against the They were transmis as and one deto beg he defense of the notice and a debic burgers ference was not examine in me how a for Congramment's methods the He genete for did not went the was . . making or gestions for the approvement of the school Tac Covercment had their own scheme, warm to for the rest treat of separa but that was not cough a save been from the Corman torrais. They wanted a onthe all a major in alla, woods a chizen are a and not a purch mercerary army I say the if you wish to enable us to help you erface tal and st pulate the recriting, we amore make the edtreated report test that they are the objects of the I upon and the King's equal subjects Bit he Covernor of a not do so Y it say that we shall be trusted and may real actiners in the 1 pir. When? We court with wires. We lest want the consider from of the matter in definitely put off. We want action and immediate deeds ""

Jemah's puter conflict with Walingdon was reflected in their neerbic social relationship. The Johans and been mosted to dimer at Bomba. Covernment House soon after returning from their honeymour. Bettle were one of her lowest-at Pa'rs evening gowns and Lad. We make twas junk to order her servant to bring a wrening gowns and Lad. We make twas junk to order her servant to bring a wreng to over up Mrs. Jimah. In case she fenced "Jimah child not wast or the servants return, our may up from those to inform his hosters. We her Mrs. Jimah fork wild, so we also and ask or a wreng west find the servants return to the did not set foot fiside the Government House again till the Willingdons Lad moved on the contract of the covernment House again till the Willingdons Lad moved on the contract of the covernment of the covernment house again till the Willingdons Lad moved on the covernment of the covernment of the willingdons the covernment of the willingdon the covernment of the will be will

so a seek to a same disease on he applied s

league celebrated Home Rule Day, on June 18, 1918, with a mass relly in Bornbay, at which Jinnah said

Lord Willingdon has said that the support of the Home Rule Party is half-heatred. Ma answer is this Your methods and policy are all wrong. I cannot believe that even a hureaucrat is so blind as not to see it . . . they do not trust us and, therefore, are not prepared to allow us to take up arms for the defence of our own mother, and and of the Empire. They was discholarithm on organ sation, which they call in arm, which is a proportion and nothing else and they tentum round and tell us that we are not helping them. I say what Mr Mortago, it has speech of the Mesopotama Report has said, that the Government of India is "too wooden, too iron, too anteditivian to be of any use for the modern purpose we have in view."

Less than a month later. Gaudin wrote ourge Juniah to "u ake are uphatic. It makes regarding recruitment," arguing

Can you not see that if every Homa Rule Leaguer became a potent excerning agency whilst of the same state fighting for constraint and rights we should ensure the passing of the Congress acanate science statement. Seek we have the recruiting office and everything will be added

ento you "as

a reune of Gandh is strangest letters and appears to have left Jonah too listled to respond. Gandh can a highercrare the wiston of Jonah's room on mercratting as soon as he stricted going from village to village in at to the mail of any digra to done.

As soon as I set about my task, my eyes were opened. My optimism it at a rude dock We I id makings wherever we wind People and In hardly me or two would offer the serves as react to You are a votary of Ahimsa, how can you ask us to take up arms? What making a comparation?" These and similar questions used to be put to us. 10

to be wrete Maffey quoting even tougher common peasant
 the Howe case who can hard! be at the sight of blood and
 the arther arms sendence servinor up courage to join the
 for Sept. there are no and its health broke down, per to add a sendence and the broke down, per-

I very nearly ruleed as constitution luring the recruiting campaign (i.i.) at the last control with the seas that control of the bed of pain and vallabilities. Whilst I was thus control of the bed of pain and vallabilities are we that Germany had been completely de-

feated and that the Commissioner had sent word that recruiting was no longer necessary. The news that I had no longer to worry mysef and a corn thing came as a very great reliable. Vallabilities may with Dr. Kannga, who felt my pulse and said, "Your pulse is quite good I see absolutely no danger. This is a cry as breakdown due to extreme weakness." I passed the night without sleep. The morning broke without death coming. But I could not get rid of the feeling that the end was near 58.

Montaga a report on linear coast-ational reforms was published in Juli 1918, recommenting part al control of the executive in the provinces by the legislature upon the executive in the Covernment of I did, and as far as passible complete popular control in local postics. In Juniary is fair as passible report and issued by resections to the press on July 23, 1918, noting that

The proposals are not like the laws of the Persians and the Medes that they may be mon flow sport to their discussion Great effort has beer made a face the problem. I know that great difficult es were put in the way of Mr. Montag, a comba and he was colled upon to heat with the or the most intricate and complicated on loans that are courty lad over to face but I think he has been a duly infly need by de alarmest section, which has resulted in rim cherable resteet tions bring put on the concession that have been made to the The dyancement would be worthess aless in major provinces like Bon buy as the departments except the Pelale and Just a are transferred I are writing to accept the only as a transhor a stage war a ew to show that for the present the ma of mance of aw and order may be restrived to the Coverage of some the argument has been advanced that after all we are going through an experimenta, stage 49

Again Jinnah proved himself or nenth moderate and flexible a bridhant consists stona, lawyer and negotiator. Had his efforts to seem directly will Morraga not been sanotaged by the government of local and is. Black Rowlatt acts the soars of trageds that were to ensure in the ware of the war need not have detailed the process of responsible transfer of sower set so patiently in motion is Britains two greatest Laberal secretaries of that John Morray and Edwan Montaga.

Junah served on the out Congress League committee to coordinate both responses to Montagus proposals which emerged as a sabsid a contained of the report and on we be readlined on it had been an integral of the stocard van out of a report of the served of the congress of the response of the served of the serve

Nath Bancrjea was willing to support it C. R. Das, anticipating "the faile of Dearche" wanted real Responsible Government in 5 years," while Motha Nehru was reach to wait another two decades." The regular aroual is sions of Congress and the Mashin League were scheduled to be held in Delhi in December.

As World War I sputtered to its end that November, so did Willingdon's and over Bonday. The Jimans could hardly want for that governor to are and when they war and of plans by some of Will agdor's area friends ed a public function at Iown Itall authoring hip in the eve of his ture they lamnehed a mass apposition movement to that function It a lumalis is stand most agore a pullic demonstration against a British in The Willington Memorial Contratter and their meeting to start . 00 xi o: December 11 Sur is 400 if a puali's vouthful followers started one is ont near the steps of Bon bay's town but the right netore. Polico I in tirus of ps thoms to a clay of crowds (1 10 00 a se when the corned, so not a before which Januah himself arrived to take a place for long of the head of the queue. He raced up the sieps as fact as to green and carry him and separately the very first rows with his Home. It is mades About upon, Rattle trived with a tillie basket filled with . nicks has for the dated not leave those choice sends knowing at a supporters we ld start to show up in the early of errors. The and was 85. I refact nouns sefore on volled sheriff of Bon as eclied the trainer for persent to perhaps one of Bombay's rading where family fortune was made in the opium trade, "presided" over Ing, but from the moment he rose to address the audience, Jinnah 1 Love were on their test shouting. Yo, no Pt Rasenes protests at all about the temperes are though no one could hear him it is needed supposedly mixed the resolution of any rectation for the most is The commission of police then ordered the act to be showed," and Juniah as well as Ruttie and their friends were bustled at ide I say the first and mis true I end would be roughed up a a r surface. He emerged from the town has how-v popular Bombay hero.

That is In Clear of Burba. Jamel, told its a loring of that stretched across Apollo Street that evening. Your triumph to make the across Apollo Street that evening. Your triumph to make the continuous and eventually could not overawe you. December the 11th is a Red-Letter Day to the history of Burbay. Centlemen, go and rejoice over the day that has a late of the day of the country of the count

Memorial Hall' which still stands in the compound of Bembay's Indian National Congress Building, commemorating the "Instoric triumph" of the citizens of Bombay "inder the brave and brilliart readership of Mohammad All Jimah "st After Jimah Lift Congress, and especially after the birth of Pakistan that hal appeared strangely anachronistic and is now anonymously referred to only by its initials as P. J. Hall. Few Indians remember that People's Jimah Lial, was erected to honor the fearless leadership of Bombay, a most inspiring anthassactor of Rindly-Mislim unity.

5

Amritsar to Nagpur (1919-21)

A pisture brought not peace not the sword of barsh repression and better to the normal balance of the normal b

and the formation of the disease are reventuriary orimes,"

11 His Mr Januah, as Rowlait's Bill was tabled on Pebruary 6.

To substitute the Executive for the Judicial will lead to the abuse of those vast powers... There was no precedent or parallel in the least to the one-thrent of such laws. This was the most inopportune moment for this legislation as high hopes about momentous reforms had been raised... If these this is the property of the content of t

to a constant and a constant at the other some incit in steam full should draptly the chanimus apposition of all

twenty-two Indian members on the council There were thirts four official members willing to rubber stamp the Black Act that was passed into law a March 1919

"By passing this Bill" J unali wrote Chelmsford a few days later from his Maiabar Hill house to which he had returned as soon as the vote was innovinced.

Your acceleres a Government have actively negatived evert argument they at the War Contervor at all a law cuthers by propelled to India for help at the War Contervor at all a law cuthers by the principles for which Great brital avowed a fought the war. The rundamental arranges of astree have seen spreaded and the constitution of given the property of the content of a law when there is no true dunger to see State he are of retifial and incompetent bureau or coval of a member responsibility to be people nor manufactually the property of the content of a protest against the passing of the Bolanch the present of the bolanch property and twee passed tender of resignation.

for I for that ander the prevailing constraints, can be of no use to by maple at 1 Co. I for closely of with one will respect to common a possible with a Government that shows only uter different the motion of the operate to see of the propule in the Conset. One also are for the techniques and continuous of the people outside for my prior according to the form of the people outside for my prior according to the people outs

The reagrance turther attesting to Janual's courageous national leaver ship at this time made no apact or Che instinct while Moraegus own influence in London continued to deteriorate Januah had no way of knowing on how an attent a secretary of state he permet has hopes for Indian future in it as decised a say for London to seek to persuade his faltering friend to override the government of India B. It is was measured and though their love would never be us strong again and the afternal of the war proved so pointingly friend to the transition of them as it did that winter at the start of 1919.

The Mas in Long at man appearanced I make to end a depetation to Prime Monster Lloyd Going that year or plead for at least one Most one ender to be forthcoming Park Proposed Source Most Indoor Millions for a Longing attention to the long state of Most on the long state of Most on the long state of the source of the long state of the l

ng fought for the protection of the rights of the sinal and defenceless morities. Six Satyendra P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner, 1880-943 had been appointed to represent India at the Imperial War Confermir in 1917, but since neither was Mashim the League feared that Islamic enests were point should happen to a good. With the Aliconothers and the popular khiladat caders, including Defens scholarly deviate Mashims 1918. Salar Asad. 1887–1985. Still under detention without specified across Muslims felt more intensely than ever a sense of communical anamass. A make a leagues and promises to protect Islams high places would be a new that Turk y was a defeated means host passer at the mercy of thirstum visites states, determined to crush it for all time.

the turnal's reacced bondon in Maria, dirented a flat near Regent's I to says the different later applied on Boundary's lawner Change Lana d fonar's an obshited angliter when telling a frame story was often in the category of a parable "4 One everying in incl-August, . . . Bettie o the theate but they were obliged to leave their box there is alst a dang terms of Duccess here in Landon 1 . I ad the on A good 14 15 1 AB odd on the process y two days x to be day and her before the barty of senal a other offspring. this massion the Langue noved as successful however of 1.1 a scates the Mish a case's gursus to Lies I Corgo the are for tanded in no shedgefor Montage and Pikaner a onte or Mid at Vesarl s, where Britain and France cornight assumed has a transporting, Syrin and I und ou of the cosa seger (A man Emery) is red, must . If you as taken to all aid the print, genterings to uself espetells since he had come so far and was the "delegate" of the Muslim and the se hat ed aid sespecion of his so recently expressed as a strike in a other le ding experts un le le sailiced to , I a last last severtires. More doors remained cosed er o and runn Bon an s new governor George Hond. to paises Meetige's mine against Jonah writing of him that from an "fast of speech and black of heart," a "real irreconcilable," and "of to the las cosas end and the thing and a late a present other "There were fewer smiles on those pulmet I condon faces he met, as Whitehal, closed ranks behind Simla. Delhi. Ile had after all, resigned his "honorable" position, Best not

the brushfire in the wake of auto-Rowlats Act mass protests and the

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British massacre at Jadianwaia Bagh Gandbi chose April 6 1919, as the first "sacred" day of a nationwide husiness strike tharta, to protest the Black Acts, which he urged his Sudyagraha followers to "refuse civily to obey" It was a totally nonviolent day but a week later on April 13, 1919. Amribar "Nectar of In nortality" a city sacred to the Sikhs of the Punjah was transformed shortly before sundown uto Ind is first national urban shrine. Two of Gandhis reutenants but been arrested a few days earlier and deported, thus sturing up a protest march toward the British commes sioner's bunga, we in the cantonment Several so diers pameked and opened fire, killing a few marchers and turning the peaceful crowd into a raging mob liest on retaintion. They be mid But sh banks and attacked a few Fing ishwanter as we has high shown in American and day A Braish brigar dier and his term were a red in to restore order. The general banned all Judice meetings. On April 13, when he learned of a meeting of thousands ake g place uside Jal' a waln Bagh "Carden" he drove to that almost not as enclosed a te with some of his troops undering them to open fire without there, were of warring to the peacete's assembled cound uside It was a Suntany a land test val holiday. The crowd, most's vallargers had one to the city to or enrate. The sold ers fired 1.650 rounds of her grien sation a point outer in age for the remailer at the terror-strickers b man't egets what bond no existion that raghtmare in the garden leav ing some 400 cusass dec. ad yes 1 200 wounted. The general and his arm is been a basty retreat as the sea set on the Landlest massacre in Bratish Incian islars which Che majord after termes an 'error of adgment"

"India as got to keep her head coo titles a ast er heal moment. Jinnah advised his readers in in Liervica, he Bombay Chronicle published on his return home in in d November 1919. "Unless at the next session of the Cogress in December a shoughtful programme is land down by our leaders and accepted by he people a mealer lable amongs if harm would be done to our carse to Jornal of Il feet confident that Mr. Montaga will not fail us but termed Chr msfore, s now mistra on "a famore" and argued that "the sooner has a recalled the better for all concerned." As to the prime number of "promises" in hehal, of "puor Tirkey" he called those "a scrap of paper and did not believe the Ales stood reads to concede "self Jelem mation and adependence to Arab states. He was however more optimist about India envisioning a true "renaissance" through education compared in dustrial and tecanical progress and growth, and a aborabized rathers policy Asker fib. aid as "message to to cop as to, Anotsar Conpersons was approved to be at the other course of larged from a part will be a new borner to be a seed buffer the national research beautiful as the second from Localism and large Lug what he thought of Montagu's bill then in Parliament, and Gandborned

cannot say anything about the Reforms Bill. I have hardly studied it My preoccupation is Rowlate legislation. Our Reforms will be practically worthless, if we cannot repeal Rowlatt legislation. And as I can imagine no form of resistance to the Government than on this observation. I propose God willing, it resome it next week I be taken all precautions that are hamanly possible to take, against advisence of systems of the propose.

their different approaches to solitical process, Juniah still the second condition of their widely divergent paths and their every their widely divergent paths and their every their widely divergent paths and their every t

I am a were to send her real representatives, say half a civer who to or impagation work there is over for mack if no by a distantial to a col public on more provide a negotic Lor has Bombon Chron-I saw a great deal can be done. By it is ust be a constitut and at cut tiched instruction carriers in law areas not only wan go I som as by perior and scalled "Was be hoping for such to be all the way now a father after all and har to plan for his it ie, as well as his young wife's India was less secure than de a land to raise a family in than it had been know the terrible as the after a episterial stone on the area come than as it is 1315 and with the front or rimberg, the bigas bleedand the rest of the land poised on the verge of Satyagraha, prospects and that is some I disual No made Ruthe's facility elected, attrement more griwing bore service abundance in soul so as a service and d wire do I zat or occasio less placesbue I wish's Bombuy t and prosper comainly and receives, not and more of tions and attention, evenings as well as days and often seven days a was trained what lattle - left to a reality constraint. Mercania dashing mapulfirst and some and conditional calls with hore time electrotald possibly devise ways to spend

The long avented Montagu reforms were passed into law as the Covor of the December 2 of the district King or error

I selve to a construct Light contents

His Majesty s "curried desire at this time that as far an possible any

man 1 for a part of this time that as far an possible any

Government should be obliterated," but the new act fell far short of that mark. Had a come a year earlier jerhaps it would have sufficed to satisfy expectations roused by the war. Though it dist provide some measure of provincial responsibility to coted representatives of India by "transferring" certain cepartments and their revent is to pepular control, while "reserving other more apartune matters to office I hands. This newly devised tech risque of ha f and haif rule, called dearthy was Brit in s form its for de volving political power "by sacressive stages" to India. The Central Legislative Council was greatly enlarged into a bleameral just partiament with an energy transports lower house to be called the Legis a ove Assembly. The expense of the secretary of state for lacera sames and those of his new states was taken off Joon as budget and to referred to Parhament as Congress and the Loague demanded. A public service commission was to be established in India, thanks to which simultaneous recruitment to the coveted civil w vices would be an a New Delh as well as a Landon in 1923 Foot, it is act provided for faither's autory upp vi ato the working of the system of government the growth cocharation and the development of representative institutions, in British India as to whether and to what extent it is desir black establish the presciple of responsible government. Her ten years. I if these come before he Bow att Act and American surb constitutional concessions would surely have sounder generous and have been more was a y welcopied I roughout and a

Both Congress and the M. slim League be diamatal meetings in Annus. In 1917. If nd s.M. s. in annuy was seen by the acceptor to be the secret of success, and that of the new y proposed refore a but of all work done in Tadiams at leane, and abroad, and that the "Congress League Collination of 1936" the major political obstacle to such and said been resolved. The Air brothers appeared before the Amritsar League to a standing ovarion and "reverberating coorse of over Moha and the assured his joines, teams audience that "there was no Government but the Government of Cod.] attach was a credit to present over the League for the Jullowing year.

Jonah cader a special meeting the Nussian League that Suptember to Calcut a where Congress rice as we in emergency session to consider a radical change of political posture caused not only by announced Allicopeace terms but also by harsh, callous British reactions to the Jalliams. Bagh massacre and pib said reports of its atructure aftermath throughout the Punjah.

We have met are a part to one of the annual of the cross in owing to the studied and persistent policy of the Covernment since and the covernment since and the country of the covernment of the policy of the covernment of the cov

Ottoman Empire and the Khilafat. The one attacks our liberty, the other our fairb. Now every country has two principal and vital functions to perform one to assert its voice in international policy and its other to maintain internat. The lagnest rite is of active and his name but one must have ones own administration in one's own hands to carry it on to one's own astistaction. As we stand in mathematic and production of the salmars, and in breach of the Prime Minister's solering pledges unitous and mathageous terms have been imposed upon Turkey and the Convenience of the salmars. Empire has served for a mole and broken up by the Albest under the guise of Mandates. This, thank God, has at last convinced us, one and all, that we can no longer abide our trust either in the Convenience of India in or the Convenience. It is Mujesty the King of England to represent India in matters international.

And on let us fain to the Pumpit. That Star Chamber Legisla ion tenned after the notonous Chairman of the Rowlatt Committee was Light and a fact Covernment of Lord Chief at rd, and I resulted m those "celebrated crimes" which neither the words of men nor the car of women car wish away. An error of ada next, they can't If the last and I gove to the there-are error if padgment it is and they show have a pay for it of got tool a they tomestow. One It is us as he is me sputable and that is the Covernment 1 go and give place to a completely responsible Government where I the Congress and the Missingue will not Fret this is a start rk out some coase nore effective. Ind missing the school proval to be forwarded to the 5-cretary of State 1 . I to A of a shall sorth find a way even as I tance and alidy the and the new born beauties. We are not going to rest content until we have attained the fullest political freedom in our own coun-My Phi has no diles programme of non-cooper from supas allo without of the khada Co ference before the comtiv. It is now for you to consider whether or not you approve of its provide and printing of the printing whether or not you approve of its details. The operations of this scheme will strike at the individual in each of you, and therefore it rests with you alone to measure your strength and to weigh the pros and the cons of the questions bethat and a few or fallow of an have feeded to march let there be no retreat under any circumstances. 10

Hutter and behind him on the platform, a vivid remarker of all that he personally risked from no revolutionary a step. He would of course, be expected to give up his literative legal practice as long as Sotyagraha continued, if he endorsed it, which he never did the must have serves now, as

now was starting its rapid descent Gandha's star burned so bright that now lesser for harders could be not be seen in India's political firmament. Jinnah tried, nonetheless, to recapture the position he had held little more than a year ago, eastigating British rule for its broken promises.

Jaman noted how the majority of the rosal commission appointed to in vest gate the Punjab atmost is exonerated the hate crazed general Dier and his n mons as "one tore flagrant and diagrace, as assumed that there can be no astice when there is a cor act between a Er clistman and an Indian The Covernment of India with its keer sense of highward and characteristic modesty are adjust transcountly proceeds to forward a resolution in its despatch to the Secretary of State commending its induct blind to the fact that hey were in the lusting of an acciser pass is ade next Now let us turns the great error it adjuncts the redictions finding of the Connect which self s to ess an erect. I guest muntion the Parliament est ear Of course M. Moonigs had a the tracte put believe con before the House meng a too burn off ring personal exp may one And then the Lag and Lames block of log and to their erroring glan carried the rife ions and more flore halay A second Firm of Nat. had proposed homeoring the brianged brigadier Ca all H. F. Deer mice by he lord "Hero of the I air presented with a uree purse and jewe led swore insee and "Sayamor of the Perspals and was backets a orghe Brench diskes say mart sesses, arts on earls ter second to and sevent four barons

"These is the entrulates even most and are have met to day face to face with a dangerous and must a precede ted situation. The simplicial six is can and the other test are great. Bet I conside ask he peops to who the wright evening. I shad was clearly men, his heart and mind real by the grave problems he tried to face rationally dogget is so leng to avoid the abysis of evel year. "Tet i, would see last the Covery ment not to draw the people of India to design and one time there is no other course left open to the jeogle except of many rate the problems."

Jimora thus moved as close as ever he dured to the far side of his personal firth in British , where and the noblest principles of Mestern en bization. He could be take that him, stride no the vac of otal repetion, you ever as Gandhi and tens or minimum who tollow in him works or far the world have been a tepth attoint of some find the stood for at hard become finally was an owner of a mentiona than a madation, and could no some root to be the close givings that has an adoption with the could no some root to be the close givings that has an adoption to the late of the could not specific. The patterns of holls person has a count of the take of the count of the name of the name.

reaine the perfect prototype of a style of leadership suited to different contolleres, attended to different languages and goals fashioned by different or is Ji much was the mode, of urban Westernized India at its cleanest and his set. Candhi reflected India's ocean of peasant wisdom and village after less affinite capacity to endure poverty and patiently suffer any hardship.

1 Calcutta Congress gave Candla has first moor victors for though Count cooperation program was strongly opposed by Rengal's leading pea-(R Des 1970-1925 and B (Pa) 1856-1939 who joined forces I found and Annie Besant against him the Mahatma with the Air - il s and M tidal Nebru u. s corner emerged with a crear majority at the to lead the march against the government. Klubabat transmiss of is fixed by Bombay's merchant prince Mian Mohaned Chotan, one and a leading supporers, had been alonged cross-country to pack the companied and we efor their book resol tion, rainfor my Congress and the period party. It marked a revention are shift in Congress's if it sort on lower lass mass tonded by seath, sinds Marwar, nel Lokamana Tine ded the day Mah, trup I were his hist on journal Salya, ruha A gan, 1 1920 1 at 1 med than en Cardhi's hap at I was tor or hodox a diab cards emthe kill that pass August Brought was proper trusted Condit a openly as the agreement as a "chaused of lintred" while Cokhale's moderate not thread of the Servands of India Suggesty V. S. Son, ask Sastra 11 It is adjust the Mahatma "fanest 1" Pl. rowed as W titla's alost we despre Dieskow & Wache 1844 1936 a leaster of the Posturial Liberal Federation, called Candhi a "madmen . . mad & arro-1. Mantagu, who could not for the life of him understand Candhi's es a sas eved the pr haps he surgagraha as well as their may be were sell part if a Bourneyk onspiracy. The to the war the whold the very day Gandhi won he Caleutte subury. The Bolshevike, in their ammosity to all settled government, are using the grievances of the Molammedans, and what frightens me is the was to which Pan Islamism . . is taking charge of the extremist move-

de the bett meals and Canch went by rail to Bombay, to atall a Humin Rule League (Swarret Sabha) meeting there on October 3.

The Latter Latter and the proposed cameing Amne Bosant's
regardization's constitution to bring its goals more fully into line with
page 1 to 1 let Swarq for mean needing to
October 1 and a phil hard to 2,200 at the nation sisting.

"Attenument of acting overnment without the British Commonwealth.

"Itelform (needboods" remained) the sabha's there goal, and the nully one

he could accept. Gandhi remarked that anyone was "free" to "resign" from the Sabha who could not accept the majority's accision. Only sixty one mean hers attended that meeting, which had been called at short not see but of those less than one third, eighteen agreed with, minh, ackeding his loyal Bombay Pars lieutenants, the brothers Januadas and kare, Dwarkadas. The defeated minority left the meeting and before months end, Jinnah wrote with great surrow. You resign from the League he had on a led. Gandhi then wrote to seek to was Jinnah back, asking him to lake his share in the new life that has opened up before the country and Leaght the country hy your experience and guidance. I Jinnah reply to that litter indicates how pussionately apprehens as he well on the over of the Nagpur Congress about the gourse Gandhi charted for India.

If by 'new ife" you mean your methods and your programme. I am alread council accept here for , and hill to a need that I am stread to disaster but the laton - while that has opened as sefere the comment at that we are taced with a Covernment II it pass no head to the grevators feelings and so a merits of the parishe that our own cot a rimen art do led the Moderate Part is 1 t goody wrong that our methods have areas, cutard spleas a second in a nost evers ins for an dust you have approached betterto, and in the productife of the country lot on you mages History and Missin's but been es-Upados une Jim is al Morris and Musions and even retween tuthers and some proper general are desperate a over the results and or restrence programme has for the mount streek the magina tion mostly of the aexperienced and are the grocant and the il literate & this nears implete histograms for and him What the emisequence of this may be I should not contemplate by I for me are convinced that the irest, posity of the Government while primany cause of this and miless that cause is removed the effects thust continue. I have no roler or power to remove the cause that at the share time I do me wish my on allowner to be dragged to the brank of a precipiee in order to be shattered "

Was that "shudder" of apprehension in 4920 Jumah's first rude awarening to the death knet, of its disease of national leadership and units? Clears he had no ruth in Ganeta or his adgment to save Initia Irom being "so," hered." Was this possibly his first premountion of partition? The only way for the Nationalists. I had warried it his revealing after its first mine and for a programme where it were so the epicols for the earth after the completed spinors. Accordingly Such a programme can be died by any different his in the complete its spinors. Accordingly Such a programme can be died by any different his time of the programme to the control of the programme.

sure my colleagues and myself shall continue to work." While conceding his even weakness, on the one hand Januah thus maffirmed his commitment to the same goal, the same struggle for responsible government through H ridu. Muslim must be which he had devoted thruself since long before Lucknow is counsed pride was papable, perhaps more in those concluding remarks even than in his parised confession, "I have so voice or power."

Central India's Nappor hosted both regular sessions of the Moslim League and Congress after Christmas in 1920. That are entitiarized after the Christmas in 1920. That are entitarized strong doff fluidu religious servances access by Nail Vedathia, regional or and new gave built to a new Congress in new Cangle's rever tomary enders the Midman first moved his credo resolution at a meeting of the subjects of the on December 38, proposing "the attainment of swaring by the view of fluidus all legitorals and da here as on obsolve "the British and that it was appropriated and da here as on obsolve "the British and without greater presentation for independence out Gandhiangued."

I do not for one moment at ggest that we want to end he British connection at all costs unconditionally. If the British connection is for the advancement of India we do not want to destroy it. . . I know, between we are done with this guest button, which we have imparted to barred.

we marketo approbable possibly through a set of bond out of it not be said of us or any of as that we are guilty of shedding blood, but let it be said by generations yet to be born that we suffered that we shed not somebody's blood but our own, and so I have no heattation in saying that I do not want to show much sympathy for those who had their beads broken or who were said to be even in danger of toring their lives. What does it matter?²⁶

Jinnah argued as best he could against the resolution in committee, but the last as too bettar or "a war or roursige and was somed as well drown in more day As at faceta, car rashed to its end, he new I was proved as Canada before the poor than 14,500 delegates who if I was as a war car or the Congress test more than two etre numbers of the more and a war car or the Maka has resolution was greeted with the more and it where them are also a love Lond I had as ecconded are an of other them are also a love by our risk and demanded to be heard in opposition, striding to the data. "Mr Jinnah with the usual could on his face mounted the plutform with an ease suggestive of self-solutions and the conviction of the man, and opposition an argumentative.

[1]

He was "howled down with even of share, shame and political im-

yelled "No. Mahatma Gandhi".3 He repeated "Mister" then finally abandoned any pretace, seeking a way to inject some air of logical reasoning into an atmosphere charged with passionate emotion. "At the moment the destisies of the country are in the hands of two men," Jienah argued, "and one of them is Gandh. Therefore standing on this platform knowing as I do that he commands the major ty in this assembly I appeal to him to parse to ory halt before it is too, it " in sub-s appeal went unansweren by Gundlahowever as he bous, I sees and esteells of the radience final a drove the author of the Lacknow Pact and ex president of the Home Rule League and the Bombay Co. ference from Lag. Nagpor pla form. As the Central Pronices. Consumstoner Frank Six halte accurately reported of the Nagpur Congress to the us and two days later a rad carried no liberies " It was the most be terly him Laring experience of his in his life left Central Ind a with R, the by the next train, the searing memory of his defeat at Nasamr per carriety e-vazoned at his braca. Whatever hopes he had had of National caparship a re buried that da. Canahi had scaled the heights of pre-tical was not live at a present of over the precipion to a new low revited by fellow Mushin Khilafa leaders ever more than by the Mahatima's devoltest. Ind. disciples. Sharkat An nates hin, and made no secret of his surther cuts wherever a ent

Though he had presided over the Muslim League only three months cartier Jonach of not over order to attend as Nagari essentir right, and the first of this orgon tion to the Care to Minister express. He had no more licant for raccors confront tions that bitter become or no stormach act for the alies he had been the file of warms them such to the file in a resh had been the file of the have he corrects as tregated would be as coasted by and against the suddence polytical masses. We every my kit had Conference through such a Congress and Muslim alienge had received in an amount as altered decided, cowards or a wall of There was no court of appeals left for the moment, so Jimah and silently some—his "career in positics a sharoldes, though hardly at an end

6

Retreat to Bombay (1921-24)

I sake with the law. He poured all his energy and talert note law ark then a law the poured all his energy and talert note law ark then a law the household make the first he has had of his filled account deve ad larged that more night to at demanding most ease. He say the same bors and the Bur meaning his posterior walls from the most made is field at pure is ble. Sufely reviewed from he tax he was heef as violence and stand particles and durk clouds of the tax he was heef as violence and stand his times a given to political and ded with changes to he to thought be the near a core to political and ded with changes to he to thought be the near a core to political and ded with changes to he to thought be the rising political at order owners the days of his leading a barge of the segment of the segment of the segment mass meetings or screets named for the segment and the process had not forte two was transitioned and account more than the country of the whole and process statesman is careful natistic of the segment had processed in the new house processed in the new house processed in the new house of a verying with and thoughter.

If the final increases were to recapture his internet and attention, using it and after pass seed. But she be longed to us Luck the disease to do head prime see and rain to possible. That merage the life is almost as rainteenal start got romantic in dream is his to be a life in the control of the control

work as if she were not there at all. "The had not as yet turned to the "spirit world" for company still desperately seeking friendship among the living. Sponed canic that she had been, once the center of her fathers anywerse having been east out of that world doubted her demands in her hinstoods time. She was obliged to zely work on his bonian support and for indship than nost I idian, women of her class who usually retained the closest has with narish it mags cousins and all distant men less of the extended from by especial after becoming a mother Retriction one. Sir Dinahaw never spoke to her again even retiking to attend her finer. I gart over a decide arter ter marriage. No husband could have freated his wife more generation, "Justice Couple and desamining as Junian's relationship with Pout in yet or exist one of a major bow the paties of in a core! Jonah's temperation of the order.

annul short, ablic aduress after Nagper cas on rebruary 19-1921 at the Poona Serva its of Lang Soc to which Cold as how to under said year a distinguished sergit of tookhoos was in fed to see ak in the adversary of as leath family as nebel into an analysis of the their parals are, one from an helper to the series at solvels has persistently and lebberate vifollowers a palicy last may sear less that a transport of the country and full as some enopression in avenues a consistency than to a serious that hele we are a half no the silver once from a free had been with craws the gitte of lear to such bring himself to for an "Mr Caarlh s trog amone" on lag it in essential a span and mover end "based on "de structive metions 'opposed to the acture of an ordinary mortal like the spe ker's used and processed his own readness to reterate the partie stage out in its lead " real putical move on t based on real portical principles this crit up of Gands, though senting, was not total a negative concluding that "Undoubtedly Mr Gundhi was a great man and he Lambin had tore egard for him han a school, else But he chd not belie c in us bogs to se and a count in support to I read ventured to give that were Coknale still alive, he too "would not have endorsed this programme"

The Satingraha boveout proved less effective than Gandh, existence British courts remained been as ever hough some Indian as results and ordered commend to function. West trains are on time Jalis were filled police the first stay seeks a not be a now remained entreth in all the Braish rapid to police the interview of the seeks and to be seeks and the seeks and

rest of the decade "God only knows how often I have error," admitted Candhi by myd-Angust 2021 "Those who carree no we a antacibale a samply do not know me . . . Life consists in struggling against errors."

Chein stord's successor Rul's Danie Isaacs 1660-1665 the first Marquess of Beading arrived a India on April 2 1921. Ea lard chief istore of Beading Arrived a India on April 2 1921. Ea lard chief istore of Beading on Reading and cavalry captain Cheinsstord Below the end of 1921 theading enlisted juniors as assistance in seeking to respire ness of communication with public at Like.

Juniah attender the Ahmedahad Congress that December and worked with Bumbay's Liber J.M. R. Javakar 573-359, and several other for reate readers trying to continue far the to call a Last to Sanjagraha m order to allow and of their to explain the new olders a properse of the pros social a noname and or a Re and Toble or were to discuss possible xtession of dearth to the senter teands pointered has row kall a viewings other silent as up the glat" for any as I sale at he has worted that the Mahatma agreed to give Badding a new open banself, but within the bons press of hard by the case inge of his more in their bent mants. Candly changed his and it distributes a us I requite the ressler of power from 1 vierna British of the Indian conthe august have been aid unever the decade and a milk Courthy fer ell s as see that Beading was trying to mas late non I am seem that a seat found Reading of completes the shorten amount tudes for a course," the Makinem, in his private outer at the time "Was the little year old V sets operable losing confidence in his own authorid at this circum hour of severe tribulation?

to Moral League mso not at Abauculard that December, with Moral tract Molian, Junialis over nome presiding It was a now point in the force of the force of the Molins other expended her point as energies to kitchful movement or the Junial and timique of Mid-tulat all a long or rivery of all twelven printing postwar readers. p. The distallation of the Lagu appears to be very seak indeed "strington collecting the league remains at hing more than an old cal-

o) Mauras Sur Sankaran Naur 1857-1934 former Congress president now law member of the viceroy's council, was called upon Janah it propose the draft resolutions. These began with a strong condemnation of the governments repressive policy and an equally strong urging of Congress to abandon unit cooperation. A compromise resolution is that left agreed upon called for a flound Table conference to settle ourstanding differences between the government at the Congress and khilata, movements. Candlin addressed the conference, missing that before any Round Table reseting could be held government would have to issue "a proper declaration of pontence and retries then seeps"

The Mah two uses with a subjects committee of twenty leaders to help druit he fit a resource is changing Januaha proposals enough to drive conservative 5 r bankar. Note root and chan the next day when the next resource is used to the source of the source of the next resource of the source of the source of the resource of the source of t

the has warried must be third time that there is not as yet in India that truthful ind not collect atmosphere which ack didn't alone can just a mass disobstilence which can be a all described as a view which means get the must be callet knowing with at lowing never continual and hate..... Gud spoke crearly through Chauri Chaura. **

Soon after this about face by the Mahatma, Janach and Javakar met with him, the tier noting hat Jimmitis "strong disske of Candhi grew some "mantrest" i cach c their meetings I transdictes following news of the violence at Chairris binara. "Joniah and Sir Hormispi) Wadda's freedment of Canachi was most discurrectus. I Litter more than a year wife. Nag mit then I was Gandhi shirr to six about he bitter notion of him nation. The was no sweethers in sail after it. Jim and wife the distance of the detect of the order of the order of the detect of the order of th

snatched from his brow before it could settle there were ashes. Like those wretched dismembered corpses at Chairi. Chairia his countiess hours of patient Bombay negoriation, and carefus Calentia furnimation it parliaments is schemes confirmed at Lucknow had gone ip in the snoke of Nagyur's limber of wild enthessam. For what Now it was even too late to bring breading round again to where he had oven just a few mouths before. Why should any vicinous his right mind to got atte a new constitution after may and abject surrender? Jinna's "discourtesy to Candhi was hardly surprising."

By mid-1922 Jinnah was trying to organize a new moderate party from a neh he would have executed. Grand cuttory speaking, but nore strongly cost the Mahatma. The prited Javasar and Motian Nehro to othe forces a hism in this ambit our vertice but both coefficied? This leaving Jinnah is credition on foreser Co. gress find allowars. The old Ammassador's logical commonatal and brooke down Jinnah is no less than a size trustion at this time were compounded by us all nation from Missley Kulfald or ship as well. The Ab prothers and Min and Asad considered being a session for she government and sixtus. On the forest set I is soil, a set a freedom was Most or as gue to we are ster and Sixtual. On the min and though the soil of the Missley who contained to vertical and minimum to the other labeled politics atop. Milliant if the will into the girt. Jin the force it fluid colors are shown a firmal of the other hand were often there too. Kinny who because Ruthers church friend, wrother

One might in May (1922) I had a dream in which I saw Ruttic lying poculiarly shaped old fashioned soft . . . and in that dream "Karrie said- "Karrie, help me." Next morning as I woke up I rememberred the dream, but . . . I took no notice of it. The next night the " Har appeared . . including Rutties call for help. . . . On the weaf error or at about 5 we rive your office and without rebering the dream I called at Junah's "South Court" . . . I had aren Ruttie for some weeks and this was the first time that I went - I wish a house without a previous appointment. As I got out of the . I his servant met me and told me that Ruttle was il. I gave . In a minute he came back and said that Buttle wanted to see me and I was taken to the back varandah [sic] where the was lving. Imagine my surprise when I saw her lying on the sofa the state of the first of the state of the Charmer at about 7.30, asked me to have a dripk with him and to stay on for dinner I said I was there since 5 a clock and I did not stay for abenuer H.

That Septem or Rottie left Bombay with her daughter pots, and nurse for London Kanp sent her a bouquet of heautiful roses from Phona's Linpress Cardens as a 100 voyage gift, and Buttle wrote to thank fam from ber P & O cabin before reaching Aden, on hoptember 25, 1929. This I always give me pieasine to hear from you so thin ever have a superplionis moment on your hands on know how now and she gave her London address adding somewhat empheals at wis find me it I don't lose in self-And ust one thing our grand tex I shall and out one how he is he has a all the submails over working hower final now that I am not there to nother and tease has no will be wers, than ever " ! If a perception of his "habit of h of rally over working himself while concluded ma wiles langoings of consecut revealed the rigrowing solution from one another. As didher cos no conce to her own demands now his tors as in their and times I'm A streak of gray emerged now from the nor he of Locales forehead visual proof it how his how say at the above sported his hands one was know in 1st who and part yes from this era there's now have sing this cress to rained activities and a was aways more see such of grav-Black or pays his

In Septement 1923, Janual issued at appeal to Med in voters of Bourbay. The distance of the second s

Rat ried to see more of him after she returned from abroad his nothing she afternoon as Joinah and Chagla were going out for lauch.

Mrs. Jonah drove up to the Town Fal in Janah's invertous amounts, stepped act with a fifth Lasset and coming up the steps stars.

Johnah Janah Group and Jonah was red through the base brought for you for hand. Jonah was red through the lass brought for you for hand. Jonah was red through the lass with the lass with the lass was the second through the lass with the

ghost of a chance of being circled?" At this, Mrs. Januah's face fell. She quickly took back the tiffin basket ran down the steps, and drove We decided to go to Comag as, which was a very wealknown restaurant in Bombay Lunah progred two cups of coffee. a plate of pastry and a plate of pork sausages As we were arrow ing our coffee and enjoying our sausages, in came an old, bearded Musium with a count, boy of about ten years of age probably his grandson They can and sar down near on a). It was one put that they had been directed from the Yours H I. I then saw the boy's hand reaching out slowly has greast by towards the hale of book so isages. After some hes tations he picked up one, put it is him tauta, in which it and weight to orgon it the windows. I wate all this in-After som time they eft a d I heat turned o he at d a stanged. Chara you should be ashamed of source f "I said What call I do" , man, useer I sw dare you allow the young boy of processing and Lange from his hid to use a military at thes at top speed, a come of a punck deep on. The quastion was he ld let I much lose his election should, let he soy go to elecdame ation? And I decided a your tayout "to

or h never permitted reagons tabons to after his castes in food or le a 1 for his post a time his wis more seignisse to an conferns and where it of house Mistins, Not that he abandonest his commitment to ca reteam and national independence or ret sed to coopera e with 16. 1 . . . ad al. other laid as As ate as 1925, at fact . re great hed to be a Making dahase who had without come to think of houself M i face as hi ster. My any no you are no Indian first and the Man and the world sever large of underestimate the poa partiable of his Islamic webtate May, nors have joe a sia much in Samuel some a les tors. The pub e bemilie on ail per-I when I have feet drive from back occuper into be usely and to the on 10th the still a god his active. That helped him grow strong again, but in a different way A new phase of his political life had and an area executed a another relate He lad or more very high, and too mylithy. Were it not for the rope of his separate electorate constituthe tax large ereturn. This time he would cut each behold with great care, cleaving to the rock that sustained him.

with the better "4

7

New Delhi (1924-28)

Britisl Ind a's newly elected National Assembly met for the first time in New Host abouty to 1924 Jonah waster, trace subox of twents three "independents" to curter with how maned stell after the sicerox's commiss add as I germin a legal afor practical por tican that he was, he navages o define a pragram of fixes retorns that he convinces as his prime come consequence per forces and work toward achieving. He was then in austrian to go to Mata a. Nebru and C. R. Das, offering to merge I s. powerful swang har at Independent votes with their shrality of forty ino Switt you are it also who got a out to phasens of thirty six official appointers who lever they wished A new Scalar salest party was that benth which he assembly overlag it, another fleading's amost ment and domain This sowerful Indian blue of elected representatives committed to achiever; dominion states and felt, response to previous government at the earnest possible. It has been conjured ato existence meacatously it served from the disparant drops of armendrals who possed no threat no political changing to office don'th touched to the welding fire of limits brilling alchemy so he repeated it Vew Deals much the same feat of peation and cation he had wineved at Lucknow. Only the magic tormula and not ex- id as far this time, nor last quite as long.

annah s assembly someters bette froat in February 924 when a resolution on substitutional reforms recommended to early sampled to find Rounce. Table to better to said the regard to the protection of the region and the casts of a protection with a view to establish full responsible. Government in India. That repose and controlled by a vote of 78 to 48, and as a result, burd it appears to a line of the controlled to the controlled to the controlled to the cast of th

Alexander Muddunan, Junush served on that committee with four other Indians. Madras Sir P S Savaswams Anyer 1864-1946 president of the National Libera. Federation Poona edicator Dr R P Paran aye 1877-1899. All shabads barrister Sir Tej Baladur Sapru. 1875-1899. and the Pinish Sir Muhamman Shafi, and member of the government of India. The committee soon wase to be referred to among the coefed members within the assembly as "the Jinnah Committee." and make the action report by he sears end out official reason of the growing flectiveness and escalating demands of his district that directly were a their so at ong that the vicero, vetord see self-articly to depart the kelonan ling of Committee reports the signellohing Jinnah site amountmentations.

The Pakistan movement and its singular in part its recent Ladan bis ony have tended to obscure Junious positive contributions to the evel for of to Lamentary government in India Much of his time and talent however were a slied in tast in ng legislation arguing for or against budg comis, a litting to seep officials as well as a analy colleagues interaction, y a sust first as Coldan has over fir the Courte a gis at a Council of Calcutta, Juniah epictged in this interactions the biddly De his assenthay quake to most reas it my persong every lock next and report with the cens in of a low er and expressing abaselt will not be re-induced towns sy away, for exalapse to a cool to be gired to resposes his essentially the a general contracts, strongly apposed a afficultion limits are red: "What is the difficulty? It is only an execute, it is the same old story, I a live does and was, to s and the searc diger of this House on or into crigogo fields of a serious el aracter. I see there is absorbely no it take Aid to a be proposed to require passports for creat into advenue of something that an regular ons which inproperty are the luggest nuisance and the source they are done away

d 1924 he is troduced an important resolution that went to that at d b 1 is strength for economic ace and once, massing this the government of India be allowed to purchase its vast and valuable "stores" dies 1 is set the existence that it has a tracer that only through sternar on the India tacher that only through sternar were Members of the House, it being a very dry subject," Jimah began it was a doubt hat we as a constant Members inderstant this can be a doubt hat we as a constant Members and erstant this can be a with a die by the first 1 discuss that the other constant is a chase that the other constant is a first that the other cons

fined to the tenders coming from the British firms in England." Moreover Jamah argued that during the war necessis dictated the purchase of many stores in Inc. a Jinoah's root after carried and probable that over to stimulate Indian economic description in principle of independence than any other measure passes by the assemble.

Jonah remained a great civil abertarian always ourspoken in defense of incividual rights and equal assauct. For his insisted, on rehalf of readmitling the deported educa of the Bombay Chronics. B. G. Hornman.

I do maintenn, and I have crunk acrep at the fountain of constitutional law has the theriv of a axis the degrees tring in the law of any constitution and tishould not be taken axis in this lish on. If you have any case if Mr Hornman is soon after an office in the time fore a tril and. I speak very feelings because I feel that no man should be deported and critains, not ensuch tabricated all gations in these which, to lay kin wiedge are absolutes table.

That September in Suma, Junah restricted his fire be et a "this principle that no mer spreasest, or here should be touc act without a judenal trail." In declaring another at the same due Junah objected to the Home mans term into a remarking of a constitution of the marking of a constitution of the marking of a constitution of the marking of a constitution of the forces. But I also that a global pressure and the Covernment have go to do what is best for the people and not as it pleases that whime."

This May Jan is provided over a special serious of the Mushin League in Labore. Since one consequenced of 1923, it was real zero and admitted that the triple has often was a for one and that the mass Civi. Deschadurace could not us an ortsken successful in its marketine. January argues His return to notice points at fer an dimensional has recent personnessi.

Boycott of Councils as desired by Mahatma Canethi was far from being effective or seeful the Kickelia regarization, which was carried on could not charmany better position. The result of the stringer of the east three years has this to uncredit that there is an open movement for the achievement of Sugaraj for India. This is a featness and possition demand that steps must be taken for the modulate establishment of Domanon Responsible Covernment in India.

And returning to the home he stressed since first principal the League of 1913. Jinnah carturned India never to forget that no mesonable require conduction to and reconstruction to and reconstruction. The stress of the stress

united. Swarof is an almost interchangeable term with Hindu-Muslim unity $^{n_{\rm D}}$

The Mushm League resolved at this important meeting to work for Suraray defined as a federal mion of provinces "fully automomous," except for a man mal number of central government anactions, of general area common concern." Full religious liberty, was to be "guaranteed to all communnatics and "separate electorates a re-to-remain for author Mushus, since joint electorates were deemed a source of discord and disunion, as well as wholly undequate to achieve the object of effective representation." Nor was any "bill or resolution affecting "any community" to be passed in "any legislature or in any lift of elected bod," if there-four lift their community's , lected members opposed it. The Lengue also appointed a special con-it tree headed by small to frame a scheme for a constitution for the government of Incha. Viewing with great share, the dimorable bit or ess of teeling at present existing between the I ad is and Mos to any the I rague further resolved to cooperate in evaluating "emedator baurds" on which a aim hers of all communities could meet regularly I resolve communities sees and tre to aller are causes it visited Janah inc. If the above resoluions as well as one deph-ring, the present or indulous state of disorgar izaun existing a rang M st is it all spheres of exist a not ails prevents as health, otter-hange of an ox and co-orneration for the good a bi Corand but aso set ans, a hundre ups the Muse has in should ring their proper the of responsibility are not on the struggle for progress and selfoverment. One or after our to day lac "brien sol don't among the Musalmans of Irdia and nother also claimed by Janah, would confer a th the Centra, Khdafat Committee Jar on a as elected "pernovent" presi-. It of her League for the next lives have a give month in to carry out this a treas plan of resitalization of Musliv India Three vears was not enough, but it was a beginning.

the cornerstone was all steel out of the Khulafat movement by Turkey's fee ident Mustafa Kemal Ata urk 1881-1933, who formuly aboushed the identification the feel of the fall out in addition that stattered pillar of the second of the control of the stattered pillar of the second of the stattered pillar of the second of the second of the stattered pillar of the second of the stattered pillar of the second of the stattered pillar of the second of the second of the stattered pillar of the second of the s

Each flarry led to more retal atory raids, providing if 41-fledged riots, leaving countries dead, we indee and embattered

Motilal Nehru, as head of the Swarajist faction within Congress (Das fed wortally in 1924 was Carella's only competter for teadership of that organ zation. In August 1924, in a "Very Confidential" letter, the Mahaims wrote Morilal to inform him that he was "prepared to facilitate your seering the Congress mark ours actually assisting vot to do so, and be party to vote-call lang, claiming no interest in would "In no case ary time his promoting a peacetal atmosphere" and adding it you are not prepared of ake meeth, while or the Congress eachmery I am plate prepared to tacilitate volus taking over those Provinces where our think you lave no difficulty property to Almost as an afterthought however to the very same sittle Canathi named those who, have been asisten that he Garen, should become president himself concarding. The cids condition that will make me reconsider my position would be your desire that I should accept. Who was place course t Messrs. Das, Kelkar and others and let me Koon what ou was advise " "

The Mahahman continued boycott of all councils undermined Mobile posterior with the Orlogor true Associated by and Congress Canadha had put fell a state act, of it and resultal inflerence on the Swarzants that Min and long that Congress the reconsistent with Non-congression as Longetive it had as Longetive it had

Mottfal was thus faced with the need to choose, by mid-1924, between continuous active assertally at once with Joseph and risking the oscol Cardhi's confidence and erosion of his Congress position, or moving the other way. It was not an easy decision. The elder Nehru wrestled with a all sammer in ting Gancon to stay as his guest at the family beach horse in But gys on carried August trying to convince the Mahatora of U. nation-building utility" of Swarpjist work within the assembly Viot lafson [awahana], who was Chargeess secretary that year paried Uthose vacation summits but recalled that he and his father "did not success In winning Gandhiji, or even an influencing him to any extent." The Vihatma's only match for stubbornness in recent Indian history was Jun "Behind all the friendly talks and the courteous gestures, the fact remail that there was no compromise," wrote the younger Nehru. "I also rett from Juhn . disappointed, for Candhiji did not resolve a single one of doubts. As is usual with him he refused to look into the future, or lay down are one sale rega Clawabadali it a 40 mil wa fil tweet as t P. adt a f

to refer to the more son Maria the condition of Switch to specify a result of a contral part of his later to sense.

which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its power." While admits a tension conceivable that some good may incidentally result from a few of the asyres." Motifal masted, we are clearl of opinion, has a the larger of the at all the country it whether to temporarily sacrifice such of the bundits than add an ona to the powers of the bureaucracy. "That "Swarajist ment presaged the death of the Nauonalis party for juniah and his may bests returned to eneage in "obstructions to these," at that the assemble is in a negligible of consider each matton on its merits voting for or ngathat the above of the property of the property of the constraint ones because they believed it might advance or retard the economic as a statut and development of India.

the state of Bundar, that some er, Cardla spoke to the "Parst concerned and the sortage for caper Malaber from a read Knog.) Dwarfur and the receiving and walked of Funah's Nagpur footsteps added the continued and noting that a great deal of they work had a lader the count of "Malatenn" kits was force a feek ad from the count of "Malatenn" kits was force a feek ad from the count of "Malatenn" kits was force a feek ad from the land to the count of the country of the c

On a rd "Muhatina" storks in my obstrils and in addition to that searcheds assists at earnour rices call be "Minate". I get notices it do not wish to five. Had I not known that the more I insist a rower. Mahatian not be approach, the more notes are one rice sugger, I would more certainly have inststed. In the Ashram where I care to delighter and sister has orders not to use the word.

to be a vest at came to a public appropriate jumin for which had hapter N 2 in a true tour year carlier at most have known that Knipt fill topust what he sake to Mr and Mrs. "I"

Huttle vaw almost as much of Kanji by now as she did of her busy has been declared to mysticism for solace, and Kanji was her guide in the realth of care to an thought transfer accoveror Kanji "Rubbi was estable to anti-ting the somethers a world and she made difficult of an account to verify her beliefs and convictions. Size the first and the solation of the first stangerous her "except to be not taking drags for a real of the paragraph was a contraction of the paragraph was come all depress on perhaps an immorphing hashish, and occasing were, of course, readily available in part of flumbay She wrote Kanji in November 1924.

There is a matter about which I am most analogs to speak with you, as I think you can help use Lately I have been very anoth drawn to-

wards the subject of Spirit Communication and I am most auxious to know more and to get at the Trath. It is such an elusive Subject and the more I hear of it the more puzzled do I become, though still more passionarely—ereste—I have some sort of an idea tha vor most be cognisant of apritual circles in our City, whose Seance one may join I don't profess any creed nor do I subscribe to a belief, but . . . I am too deeply immersed in the matter now in give it up without some personal sat sfaction for I caucat controt in self with other peoples experiences . . . I would prefer my identity, however, to remain unknown while you make enquiries. And I stocerely hope that you will be able to assist me.

A month later Buttle wrate again to retrain him that What I am after is a Sea of outro-led by some experienced and in a subject to most at some organization of the against a which I so passions of he leave "It Her low mass have desper to meet for some one to talk with an Life discussion experienced the some one to talk with an Life discussion experienced at a threatest her so passionate. Was padpable. Do some and see his way as had well as result on that if the last section of

"My dear Karyl," she wrote the following April, "Yes, I know of the arear traves of which in speak Br I c. a. a dre mag to my waking hours. There is itlary, wondo wilcome a digrester came is trade a experience of the sent c. who wondowed in a tractic find in a few digitals slee there is no cores pumping a reaties physical state. I don't aream excepting view rare v. She was now twents five vears old. As sould not congete and though I aspire and crave God knows how cameably a searches remain uncrowing a contest, and few greening restlessers with insulation for the powers would with an I can been a peculiarly restlessers with insulation powers would with any assessment.

She ned her best to a buse her assumes interest in in things. Whit and to report to Kanp, the even thought the had succeeded.

Laisowly but sively drawin, Is interest into the matter and by alternate bullying and coaxing I got him to read that book "The Spirit of Irene", . . . I had to admit that it was remarkable and unefortable. . . The incident deais with the tracing of a murder—life revolves round a poor girt—a cook—who was deeped from London to Bossomb and then done to death, the details of the crime are borrible, it having been a crime of lust. The police being halfled by the cunning of the man, were at their wite end, or you may be sure they would not have consented to hold Senne. Anyway they got the interest half of the control of

One can hardly imagine Jinnah devoting much time or attention to "Irene" His legal practice alone remained so demanding that Ruttle added in this letter of April 12, 1925. It does a look as I we were going to Kashmerc after all as I is engaged in the Baw a case " han , kept her well supphed with books of a kinds, his own oferary reviews, and plays she speerally enjoyed Noel Coward. Throughout 1925 hr saw her regularity three or four times a week. Dina was now six, and Kanji tried to convince Ruttie to send her to school in Mauras, at the madije arties, it Mrs. Besta, is Theosophical for, is I much resisted that move sens up no doubt that it would further abenate his daughter from her own con punity. He may have feared he would soon "lose his by caugater as Sir Duishaw and list his his fune 1925. Buttle was Diagram and wrote dear Karin as It was pourting 2 4 M. I must ghtfelly used and sweps but the thought of you has ng come to mo 15 mph had to crawl out of bed to write to on-to eas my conscience if not my else Will you excase me and let me get back now "22 She told timen in Jan that she would go with Knip to the Three it to a buriety's biblee Convention in Madras that Deermler The Mish's Longia words wet in Algal, the way o have been or and as a reasoph in Mrs. lesapt at the prodec but hen But a sout "fe it" or a to her d porture week Shrid I however meet Anne Besant at Adyar hefore wars ead and the order woman emport to a perior and how a chappy" she was, rooving Kanji's anazement of that verdict with. Don't you see inhappings Her eyes? Look at her."

Dispute his rise a mers of interest Cai Ibi floward did preside over he increase in 1925 but as he musted only as a bisinessman president was meetings. The 1921 census figures revealed such apid growth in Muslems in both wings of the intrinsic flower low a majority in the Process 54 5 percent, and in Benga. 52 is percent. This developed it is find a did candot for one goldating the Lacknow Prict formula, well in lengthe leaders from soit Muslemsengority, are not one longer will set that in entire in the instead of the control of the control of the muslems. The set of communal separation visit the letter notice in the version by dividing the Muslim League from Congress, even as Muslim distillusion with a remet advolument of a grew.

to store ups and are mit. The victors saled I make assent a not help to the bond. It is rather and December in the control of the was recommending for kinghthood, if only Jinnah would agree to accept that honor, "I prefer to be plain Mr Jinnah," he rophed, "I have leved an plain Mr Jinnah and I hope to die an plain Mr Jinnah." Mr Jinnah, "Mr Jinnah," hy unstepning—"If my bushand accept a long it hould I

white a separation from him." The latter course may have been an option she contempated by now. It was one she would at an interested a new years after even the ugh Jinnah was never kighted. His increased conservation are growing Islam in consenuances contributed to the increased conservation and growing Islam is consenuanced contributed to the increased gulfs that directed them. There were more personal gulfs as well. He was practically flift, she was half that age and they were attended to different harmonies. We that he ever stepped living them he hoped in fact that they mg it recapture the mag of their ear evens in the spring and summer or 1926 whose he took her abroad with him on a tour that included London. Paris, Canadon, and he listed & after

Jar not had been appointed to the assembly's Sandburst Committee in 1925 chained by here are, when he is all lieutenant General Sir Amorew Skeen, to still delete had been of event ishing in "tary videge. Ike Sandburst in India. He was one of three Indian subcommittee members invited to indertake the grand train it aspection of in that the grand unstable tiens a reason bear and the area of a plantage of including him of a larger in the substitute of the subst

Ka ties hear b debrioracca rapidly a ter their trip abroad. "I suppose we in have our moren's of relativity and mone is when even thing seems to be impending and yet nothing happens a sort of waiting mood and or list waits and waits and grows districtful of the she wrote her best friend early in 1927. I am always glad when ou come So don't piraseasily wast of any aut heng strong cheagh and well enough keep on away . . . P S. I am quite a right again and were it not that my feet are ugly and swoder. I show to be getting about as usua. As it is I go a line at my friends and to night I am going to emenia-in bedroom slippers as no shoes are large enough to account octate my elegan and also ke for? Har X-rays taken and find that the broken needle is still there, so am trying to make up as small to idenge mother operate. A She has not of of her time and emotions energy now on her numerous pets, eats and dogs, each and the appeal of the first of a single beautiful to the second beautiful to t who was out all my at school or prospequed with Iriends, the pets were overalting to foodly, spot, and project all of her feelings and leave upon

The Muslim League's devoted secretary, Sved Sharnsu, Hasan, wrote that "After the slufteng of he League Office to Delhi in February 192" I acted as a sort of chambernain to the Quand Jimpan, whenever he visited Delhi, His relations with his wife. Mariam Ruch, a Muslim name,, were osand he resided alone sometimes at the Cecil tranged during this period one of Old Delhis best hotels or Maiden's and sometimes at the Westera Courts, the accommod from provided by the Government for the menhers of the Lagislative Assembly. He was not as earch, about his health as in other matters. The Delhi winters did not suit him, and he often suffered from severe attacks at cold and fla La spile or his poor health he attend of the Assembly and devoted nost of his time and energy to political activities. "It's may have malked he beginning of the coroplex and compounded and grant burg disease that would ake his fertwenty one years later. Was it contend nee that Jamah's powerful constitution should case suddenly started to deteriorate the # H's spariet in the Rs. c. vas sures a server blog. Her burgs and bods were note offerer that has as I too frail to survive mother two years. And the community model have sopters, knowing he had set the one levels has blower I hapse of his to then the hone fides of an imperial system is law. Livry's rusted of a rably wounded him. He would never breathe early again.

For Judia as a whole as we last a moral personal x 327 x s x of a tered hopes and drea s. A fun treate and expand a net Min agree coang words had given wings to souring values by exicultings, he is e chapt of State Lord Bekenheau 1672-1931 and one are a ne knew the row rule sof Westigniste, practivere marketed taking those all a nore determined to be in their bound of carries at act all all and le as 1. Rai say MacDonald's Labour opportion was grown a grouper with to seaction of rather than wait for the mevitable Labour victory the world come in 1929, the Tory cabine decided to tamp the gen av ap-, the own Royal Statutors Commission in 1927, carrying and the hanto of the 5-1 of 1929, or 1 her are the deadline expired to chart the "next it is it from advance for Lights. Birkenhead could now choose the and appointed his barrister friend Mr John Stmon (1873-1954), and six other Englishmen, all equally unin-I are about I as a bearing a sessor as viceroy Edward Wood Lord . Lite 11 1 x 158 Y's more a mathetic and sensitive to Incell by adding members and we allow pellon members (he a said) they he was red his pins as in the ght to adorbe a set of the soft of a pre-time to the con-Jumah had written the viceroy in June cay heally to warn burn that "the

NEW DELHE (1924-28)

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personnel of the Commission is far more important than any other factor in this matter. All the hoped o be appointed himself? Most probably He was always generous in nelping government with his time and deep inder standing, it what reeded to be do to to reform function constitution, and work was his only solare now. Doubly, better was the draught of reaction Jiniah was obliged to swallow then with the rest of India's gnored and wasted lendership, which was so publicly rejected, resudated that November by Lord Birkenhead's lig write ast As first to be impassioned voice. India would respond. Sinon, go back when the commission reached Bouhau's port February next, its years of projected labor doomed, torpedoed neture. It over got instermay, by the pig-fleatheaness of a narrow minded letters of imperial managers who purther selfish instrests above the needs, aspirations, and just demands of most of humanism.

The Muslim meague divided over the Simor Commission issue. A small group, most a troub lik Pats are hard up beliane ex Law. Mainter Shah and met in Labore, where they voted to wescome and cooperate wall the commission. Most admorts of the League's centred however joined the Juniah Groi, "In Calcutta, meeting or securiber 30, 927, and New Years Dassiders, "In Calcutta, meeting or securiber 30, 927, and New Years Dassiders, "In Calcutta, meeting or securiber 30, 927, and New Years Dassiders," In Calcutta, meeting or securiber 30, 927, and New Years Dassiders, "In Calcutta, meeting or securiber 30, 927, and New Years Dassiders, "In Calcutta, meeting or securiber with last resonant. Maily, Minamenad Yakob took his place and delivered his president and design extension of the proceeding of the proc

A constitutiona was has been declared on Great Britain Negotiations for a settlement are not to come from our side. Let the Government sue for peace. We are demed equal partnership. We will resist the new doctrine to the best of our power fallianwalla Bagh was a physical butchery the Simon Commission is a butchery of our son's By appointing an exclusively whit Commission is a butchery of our son's By appointing an exclusively whit Commission Lord Brikeshi, all is declared or unfitness for self-government I welcome that Mountain a carding Congress finds in attendance and I welcome the land of followship extended to be high a leasant truther partners of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabhin. For, to me throughter is not continued to a commission is under the land of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabhin. For, to me throughter is not continued to a commission is under the land of fellowship. This is indeed a

bught day, and for achieving this unity, thanks are due to Lord Burkenbead 22

The outgoing Tory secretary of state thus achieved in a single act more than Candhi and Jinnah alone could accompash at the peak of their popularly and powers momentarily at test receiving a country still bleeding from companial wounds breathing fresh life into the all out abandoned speed of boycott and non-cooperation, and or pging Gamilla. Jinnah the Nebrus and even end Amire Besaul back in to harness at the head of a single class national movement rise ved to react Birkenhead, Sanon, and the morally bankrunt company they represented.

Calcutta (1928)

the ophoria Janah feet at the start of 928 was to dissipate long before the core and Las p., was a brief remission. By pears and the castle of July Modern mat. Limit on shifting sames if command mistrust, suspending and doubt would be wise educably today by tides of traitration and discontact in once was no true turning mass. restoration of that beauty clusters for the enorgies of Brancheuric contemps for all Endian politicisms. However, it is presented to the properties of the enorgies of the enorgial properties of the enorgial of the enorgial properties of the enorgial properties

In methodels, ther Caucutta, Jimnah rotic and to Bombas to organize the rest of Simon and Lis communications immension that there Jimnah channed the road by Boscott communication. Chagla, was as secretars, "I must say Chagla recalised "Jimnah was as firm as a rock as far as the puestion of his boycott of the Caronssion was concerned. Proposeds were safe that he povent should at my politics and not see a Jimnah would not ugget and did not give an inch. He said a boycott was a boveout and it must be total and onspirit. We held many meetings on come, upon with hoscott campaign. We had a mass meeting at the Chowpatty sands."

Simon arrived on February 3, 1928, and Jinnah's boycott proved total officetive shall swrote in "tender us congratulate is to the organizer. In the very gene sincess in action of the latest majorities of the simple of the surprise of the

coit. You and Simon must be the judges whether or not it is expedient or these directions to us to make a breach at the wall of antagonism. * Official dom.eracked unwarrantha vergeance as the nation wide anyonit proved more officitive than Birkenbead dreamed it would be.

The primace of Januah's price in this box colt was underscored by Birken-head's singling him out as the leader to be undermined. If should dovise Simon to see at I stages in our up people who are not boycotting the Comission. Birkenhead leged Inviniperative Interf. Mosteria and the depressed classes. I show dividely advertise of his nation-was with representative Mosteria. The theoremore advertise of the deletimeter, adverting by a british calculation by a british calculation, he whole policy of the deletimeter, advertige that Simons Cobernation of the Commission is bring got hold of in the Mosteria and may present a report along their destinative of the Himan lexition, thereby occurring a world Misser. I apport and dark of Junal high and dry "a

On February 12 Journal attends to the All Photos Conference chaired by Congress president Austra in Delh. Mor al mer Javabada, were there as were Lagar By Malay a sysker and most of the other eaders of potion Is he Candled Last ate discreme ned at his Sahari into ashram, placing as he did so little faits a coust at many many. The concernee, neever was convened a da just that severa to mouthly a so all lind a describe to what ser us role Simon and the others might for not "The is a pestion discussed by the Confedence was the abjective to be mered at in the presentation. It was proposed that the it is Autor should aim at esa biong what is called a dominion form of government in india. Objection are lower by some men are to his or the ground that the Congress had les ded in favour of independence is the goal and no lesser goal should be some at " Jan. do. in Nehru uni in Congress presso at S. Sman asa Tvergar 5,4 1941 and the latter group differing storp's from Mathid as well as I had on this proof. The form da Grails agreed pon was to frame a condit i or "for the establishment of fel responsible government." The probhar of Master rights and representation was easily resolved. Wranging and the contact for over a week till "The situan was too great for no soll filto a o do it ar insurrection. Jawaharla reported to Candb. 6

had started before the All-Parties Conference was over, and he convinced a magnetic for the all-Parties Conference was over, and he convinced a magnetic for the least of the first least days after the conference had begun, however, it ended without agreement on any Muslim question. Jayakar, Managnetic for the conference had begun, however, it ended without agreement on any Muslim question. Jayakar, Managnetic for the conference had begun however, it ended without agreement on any Muslim question.

changes Jinnah damanded in return. Jinnah's position on separate electorates had always been equivica. They were a necessary evivide sort of protection required by Mushiws envivasions, as the community remained too weak and for educational, backward to aspire to lastering approximing equality with H idus. There were liowever whose of assuring Mushims sufficient real sector by and constitution. Hereage to make such allymative action crutches dispensable. Ji make had indeed formaliated just such proposate in 1927. They were queeped by the after will ented I eague in March and "substantially accepted" by Congress in May of 1927.

Those De by Mexim In pasais, as they came to be cauled agreed to the this relies of joint electorates i after certain could note ". This streetly cond tieral concession and the proposals to a todower were like the Lucknow Pact on the proceeds of a each's orgenious constitutional lawvers mind He was acqually also loger two a lane leading Meshins including consorvatives I ke Small and Abe a R. home, to agree to abandoring the League's arguments executionic for markon stone which gave Mus me alone the right to vote for Mr si m cand dates and si orld have old go hal. Shahaa pol neights to appeal to the ster elections of their countries to full ac contests Minte as may been of Max and alter we said at J have to be elected it all provinces where Mayor a remained monor that as above, the Luckness Pact but a ritury acres of the dustreament of would be required in such Mish is majority province. Sher ever car didate would be addiged to apreal to seat electorates for a proof they would all have to tone down if not entropy tished from narrow compressed of texts, and run only on that cond saids and peak out often o secular interests of economic developmere and reform ALM salveance force neeted under such a scheme might conveyal, se congressmen, or kirchit dats, rather than Muster seaguers I was a how putical concession and propert how broad and so fless Julian's commitment to signal principles and the goal of helping likha attain and radependence remained

Not were the constitutional concessions he dee anded in return any less appropriate the gli trey would have given Mislar majorities ordered at three new fill provinces and the North-West Frontier and Baluchast and the proportional control to research divide to the recent population strates in a runge search as depression, a government the tree of population strates in a transfer of the first and a search as the first and a search province of the first province of the f

appointed martial a doceans, without any provincial assembles. Since the 1921 census, Punjabi and Bengal, Musains had gained are older majorities within such of those powerly provinces but such demographic advance was not reflected in the composition of their agreeafures. I make proposate would, therefore have given Muslims elective majority country in the provincial governments. The final demand was for "tot liss" has one-third Muslim, representation in the central gisfature also to be some in mixed by togatas.

mah sensed well before the end of February 1925 that E nds. Mahaaltha pressure had personald Congress to back off from its acceptance tho procious May of his new co-stitution a con-morrise. He had to remain in In P. how yer all U assembly somehaded as endiger session that March, un' panali sore ned l's League, named which we sly regretted that the II d Mahasabba has priced reject a the Midir langue premakals "8 to acc the solving realing of the one cotor or sone paraemalism It is I have looked to Lord I was for help. He had abserved the lean, an gwere a secret couch a the assemble chamber than a past two and is all had developed as teamer less to get a an integerry. was fundi always ad rec. The __ la Af Partles Congresse "not" as need to be the non-attractive livers (on) by competent that her is have seemed to Jones, who feath approached he vicenov is Alcrel, I I HOWELS OF TOSK IN THE CONTROL OF THE PROPERTY MA the term is Seman's Commercial in a Mand Commission Tries or I to Burn the account the other was by relablishing a two bill can manapar, let a there ", a see but do san, in these appelone was I was an end the H to a comment a sar est a on his compatible approximate approximate to 1 mm in 1 ed, however, to consider small accompany to a transfer of the same ωt do to take these people too seriously, $\kappa = -1$ f $\to ter = t$ g t = 0or the property of the sea of the the states I william off the party

Weary and depressed, he went home to Bombay on March 30, 1928.

Untitle was not waiting for him in South Court. She had moved to the Toy

while the second set of the second seco

frankly disgusted Minor differences over Sind and majority representations by reservation and Retorius for the North West Frontier Province have wrecked, for the moment, all chances of unity. "Give me," says Mohammed Ali Jimah, "three leaders to join me over a united programme, which was all but accepted at Delhi, and Swaraj will not be a mere dream but a mit ter brought within the ream of real politics." Jimah is frankly in a despondent mood. He is one of the few men who have no personal motives to morse or personal aims to advance. He attegrity a beyond question. And yet he has been the lineaust of men."

much had no officer business in London that sammer but over with old Libera, and Labor thin to in indigitating. Moreover, but in all lore freedom to be a stored for in it be resisted in of Perceie Brockern freehard's funding pro Indian and all of Parliament who had post toured India, Jonah was a freehard which Colored in the who had a site. Paris after his work in Geneva ended conveyed in 1991 message attent Ruttin. She was "deligitating" of the great in the days and spoke with fact of 108 leggers. He reacher Paris in two days and spoke with fadde Pet to indicate a value checking into the George V. Rutties mother is forcied had that her sangliter was feeling "better" but then China a call arris. I to report that he bad pust come from her hospital been, where she was faving "4".

He sat still for a couple of mentes, strigging with his recill and asked one to telephone the classe which I did. He spoke to the muse in charge who conforms who, I have out in military and the chair, he said. "Come, let us go. We must save her." I left him at the climic for nearly three hours, waiting at a nearby cafe and when he in attack, he what the wind has a search of the head arranged for a new chuic and a new medical adviser and all was going to be well. But mass although Mrs. Jinnah recovered, she did not stay on with her buse and bus revaried ahead of him to Bombay and I do not that they net again."

While Jinush was abrond. Congress president Dr. Ansar chaired a May 18 meeting it Bonnay of so in aembers of the February Al-Parties Contention of the American Service to appoint a "commission" and by Molesa Neura to draft a nationalist constitution by July 1. This Nebr commission the Congress counterpart to the Sanon commission present equals ineffectival however completing to the Sanon commission present equals ineffective however completing to the sanon commission proved at the large to the sanon commission. The Nebruary commission could not complete its work on time Mortali was quith binsy that aummer with monther, the recking what Gain in called the "Congress president of the Congress president and the configuration of the Congress president."

dency more for Jawaharlal than himself. Mo Ia would agree in December to wear that exown rather than allow it to clude his family altogether.

The Vehru commission met in Lucknow during the as week an August to lampuer out a report based in proposals draited by Mobla, and Jawarelating All hahad that summer. Merald tried to anticipate Janah's objecnot and to adopt positions acceptank than on the most tauray issues, he sted Chagla o Lucknow where Sarop in Naid and Anni Bessit in et and the Nelsus and Sur of Baladur Sopra then leader of he National Beral Federat in 111 Ek 1W 10 T entriction on he Report was my st solast adherence to the priest is join electorates. Charles notes. Mitalal No 1 for a moment dought that in order to get the month's to accept the Report we should agree to separate electors es I argued we acro draft. age Constitution for the pine of out I the factor Chagta was then I a do n ment which was expected to certain or o orgit and we emet not therefor a superpart of dama orners e which is, or accept a and national the arely Malang ed "to chag accepted the Reon at light me top be a factor Missia larger. When John to returned I Box share his imaging assistant way the first person to proof the market pla by and among thous with him losters of exting multi-many and end he would reserve a ligranic man was consour the report of contactive ring of the League 1. For June and Chagne howers here and a no return to earlier la sof cord a friendslip in trist Norwoodd to cover again to sweeps the Neb is regire as now any other than the "Hindu position" on his Delhi Muslim Proposals of the previous year

temocra is though the Nebra report may have need in a supple it one one days rop lated the Lord on the rand flore or conspictationly it, sto the Muslam communate. They were platted mous x interions mel as. The delegace of min ha referees a mencied to promote ment builty was sing each community trate or less dependent on the on at the time of the elections. "If Such words must have so indeal disease une, to the who had had through ears of violence and communal nation limited it is rate and oil more to acce, superficial per a smoot extres against prematurely His first promoutcer and conseruing the Nelms raport came late in October. "My position as President 4 1 At also Make in Long is so which does not permit me to intice police on the lane of the same the company of the Missins not to be elarmed. I see no reason for consternation and stampeds. Muslims to or the term of the term of the and all parties to sect the entre marks hit the headlines, Motiful wrate in invite him to job, the core is the

cut the fernishment fall and the

Junah refused Motilal's invitation. The Muslim League had not as yet had a chance to meet to consider the Nohru proposals he argued and "As the President of the League — it would not do for me to anticipate their decisions." It was one of his most effective negotiating techniques part of the secret of his singular power for he was 15 magnified himself by the force of his entire par e whenever he first unhappy about the terms of an offer He was just the energy for Sind to take charge of the delense of a wealthy and powerful Muslim put of its northermost district.

Pir Pagaro and been juiled at Sukkur for "I and y aroughil confinement of some one and for keeping a large man-nor it weres an exhibiting like in his passession." His trial wave of a a special originate a second in the Sukkur distinct. These Juniah shaved in the government event house. Such a second distinct from Juniah shaved in the government event house. Such a second distinct from those Juniah shaved in the programment of the massave dam that spagned it become suited 500 to now a day a very track son from the mic. A though the might store convicted Pagaro. Juniah appealed two yours area, and has be other to use their convected.

Two sign thant things occurred while he in the was to Sind. He met young Mahamus at Rheihou, who to a worked for Piragiao and was destated to necome independent. Parsitions and me ster of 5 ad. And Man Sir Hay Harson, a princely refer of negationing khatepur 5 that and one of Janaha Independent party was early collections to led a feter in his honor at the or nate king per Harso, while Janaha strended as a most fast smaller independent was under the strength of the Missing of the Missing of the Stock of whom work according to strongest ackers are heatenants carring the two remaining decades of his life.

Before reaving St. d. in A wember 10. Junah had open of discussed his grave concerns and peasement about Mot has committee and to report with follow Miss and He would be going to Ca. It am December but autoes pased-of the securately as a territe of that the conventual their aught prove "the paring it the ways. Had he decided in fact prior to December in Calcutts that it was time to abandon the mogeous all parties search for a constitutional solution acceptable to every shade caste and religious community of Indias placehistic spectrum." Had he concluded that the this be more profitable and is hardernous for the Missim long reto go it alone in negotiating with the Brits. For what had, I the reas spectrum! But the long and accomplished after a "swore he had the less of the Brits and going as a missist to coastain has he with the less of the Brits." In the work had the less of the Carlot with the less of the Brits. The second state of the Brits is also be also be also as the second state.

some of whom could hardly speak the English language most of whom had never drafted a legal document. Nor was he simply being middle-aged and irritable, though he would soon be at least fifty-two!

At Lucknow, the meeting of Jinnah's League council did not go as he hoped it would and to his personal disappoin ment he tound many good Muslim colleagues so enamoured at the Nebru report that he dired not call for a vote on it meanly November Eventhe majorage of Mahimudahad, who was elected that year's president of the Mixlem League likewithe report and was ready to never it ("hagia was overjover, to find so many allies and hoped Junah would see the wisdom of his earlier actions but Junioh remained set against the Nebru "constitution," viewing it only as a "Hindi" document.

Motoal, Dr. Ausari, and Maulann Azad thet with hit in Licknow argang him to altend a special macting of the Schris committee before the length of Congress and to December and before the All Larties Convention would be consensed to December and before the All Larties of invention would be consensed to December of them down it still postered that an communities are breach turn of them down it still postered that first his long and to meet and off. By take it could be able to sessions of Loague and convention the early next sear after both able to sessions of Loague and tongress. Then hi tell ried to Bernhay and proposes to a proviscal League meeting who was held on November 20, no fine, at least it wis a country on his board town. But Cing a stood up and argue, so of not vely for the Nehru report that heads adjourned the meeting without putting the specific that the All Larties entirely and manufacts of his own parts? Juniah was growing a lift temporary, feeling more solated and dispurited.

In an earlier "confidential" letter to his own committee, Mot-lal had remoted, after neckages the small in Lacknow that pantar objected to the
Consention only had before the lacency, of he Missina Laggue in the
grown I that the outside it is a greater the Lague at the Consection, could
only be derived from the League ... I may mention that had the Report
of the Consection that and an Locksow decisions need taken into consideration
one would have been approved by a greater rescribe of the Missina
Leagues Counce that has shown be extend the Misharian of Mahamudahad as
President of the League. This Roych is expected that the result will be the same at the
open session of the League. This Motifal was obviously kept well informed of
not had the could be seen to be dealth as no to the open session of the League has been been defined by the serve once,
however, by underestimating his powers it was a fatal error not only for his
report, but for his hopes of retaining lind a man entited entity. The All-line in

National Convention started as scheduled in Calcutta on December 22, but no officially appointed representatives of the Minston League arrived to at tend its growded sessions till December 28.

by away recitations from the Our on Aband Kar on the chairman of the League's reception committee welconed to desegates on December 26, at the opening of Jaman's League's arman meeting in Calcutta for the ever of momentous of diges in the Const. at on and administration in India." Karten rupt that 'some forces were at work to divide the political strength of he Wishms of Lucia at a time when vital interests both of the corne inity and the country recurred hat there should be so if unity "On Decembet 27 to Luague y ted to appear to un three delegates to represent t mil take part in the de iberations of his Convention carded by the lay dian Na onal Congress. This dept also and by Mahir idal ad and ha n h, messaed therestwo-versional Navabrada Laguar Ale Nian 1598-1951 with was to become Pakista is first of me principle and Charle who was to be India's mir ster of extern I affairs 1968-6" Chagla reculted that "Jimah sas a favour of surright reje days of the Sehra report a long and protracted debactive intensitely decided three important dire wherets the was that separate electorate a should remain second that there shorts he recovation of one that of the weats in the Central Legislathere and third resid not powers should be ested in the Provinces 15

much presented by Missa, so before the national convention on December 28. He insisted twiss absolutely essential to our progress that a Heida Missam sert, ment should be reached, and that all compounts should be reached, and that all compounts should use it a friends, and has no arous special it this sust country of ours.

Africabad's 5.r Te Bahad r 5 pr s, ex law member of the viceros s corp. cfl, rose to respond to Jimah's plea.

If you extreme the figures to will find that including nonroated members Modilin representation in the Central Legislature is 77 per cent and Mr. Jimah wants 33. Speaking for myself, I would like you to preture Mr. Jimah, whom I have knewn intimately for fifteen years. If he is a spoilt child, a marghty child, I am prepared to say, give him what he wants and he fiast of with it 25.

However Pouna's M. R. Jayakar, hen deputs leader of the Nationalist parts in the assembly shocksmal for help took M. helphall, if the cook into the was less withing to pair per Jinnah that Sapre has been

I days also known Mr. I a obtain the last of a state of a sect association as a collargue in nationaled life and I can assure you that be comes before an today notifier an a naughty boy nor as a apolled

child... One important fact to remember , is that well-known Muslims sike the exteemed patriots Marland Anal Kalam Azad, Dr Ansari Sin Ai Imam Ram Salah of Mahamudahad and Dr Katchiew have given their tool assent to the compromise embodied to the Nichricommuter Report II is further to be borne in mind that even in the Muslim League a large ood of members have given the assent to the Nehri. Commuter Report Mr Jinnah herifore represents if I may say so without offence, a small minority of Muslims.

He knew, of course, just how offensive a slap that was to 3 nnahs ego and sensitivity and there was applicate and many a thump of a juproval as Jayakar ast down.

Jonah responded softh ver spoke will an intensity of control be had not publicly displayed since Sugpur

We are engaged to-day in a very serious and solemn transaction We are here as I understand for the purpose of cutera gar to a solemo contract and all part is who cut the out while have to work for it and fight for it together What wo was as fast no s and Mishas should make the character and our objects attened. Therefore it re-esser all that you must get no oul the Mislim League in the Masalmans of India and her a an not speaking as a Misolinen and as an Indian. . . . Would you be content with a few? Would you be content if I were to say, I am with you? Do you want or do you not want the Muslam India to go along with you? . . . Minorities cannot give anything to the country it is, therefore no use asking the not to president was too out "trese small points. I am not asking for the models also a to arise as a "manghty child." If her are small penuts on not concede "It s up to the majority on majorit alone can give I am aske given by his adjustment begins. I think it is the lwst and fair to the Muselmans. . We are all sons of this land. We a silva or taget or Wir have a work agether and wantever our differences may be, let us at any rate not create more bad blood. If · · cannot agree, let us at any rate agree to differ, but let us part as trevels it more than single progress of India until the Musalmans and Hudus are united, and let no logic, philosophy or squabble stand in the way of coming to a compromise and nothing will make me more happy than to see a Hindu Muslim union 20

He must have sensed that the restless jury he addressed had made up their must against him long before he reached the end of his argument, onely by the time he asid "let us part as friends." For the marked a major part of heart and the marked a major part of heart and heart a

of Congress and all it represented than Nagpur had been eight years earlier his had delivered his swan song to Jodian nationalism. The Jordan stirred by Jadothafs ringing voice in Westmaster's Commons, numbered by Morley with Theoremship, orriched by Consider and Montago, all those long lost airra, grants was dead. Born trespian that he was Juniah spoot his lines in a packed if not always friendly house before each curtain to Jordan analog of his joint each engline are noted for the Carotta finished. Act will be supported to the contract of the contrac

9

Simla (1929-30)

from the adjourned has friction of the Mison a League after a non-oy session that followed the Calcusta convent in idebase. He left Malon is naid, that a and the inor this cab is not being a conditionary for Delbase effort the years and Carlow with a Day of 1929 in entered the All-Lar as Mison Court rence presented to a sixth a Large Karon in the instance again, of I meet affect which joined walked note the siken posted prother on the parado for add of the Red For that Sixth jarran had not I transported prime with least and a sixth and are recorded as and a sixth advanced rive as a sixth and alone. He was as yet indeed a few mong he would test a look a sixth at done the was as yet indeed a few mong he would test a look who in its have seened a mison as force on and emong in a common them.

"It was a vast gathering representative of all shades of Mushim opinion,"

what it has khari resulted the conference. "I care the actor to the parent
of a protect and law are, as it has soons but a long for and fronk discomes we actor able to adopt a various via series of arthropies which we
could mean a manifester. The first of these was trust the only form of gov
britishment suitable to Indian conditions is a federal system with complete
atoms in least of the conservation of the constituent states." The next

it has a least of the which refere these outers are it as so red for the first of for

been a some less to the actor and the series as well of for

been a some less to the actor and the conservation as the for

the actor and the configuration of the conservation of the configuration of

of Muslim India again. His mahomalist multineer was welcomed effusively aboard. The anamouty of this conference was especially a gnificant reflected His Highness for at arket the retaining delarge, and for the moment private and was no grable avoid of his change it minds of Mr. M. A. Ji, had to agree near with a school Muslims. Mr. Jimah had attended the Congress parties meeting in Calentra shorth, before, and and come to the conduction of the form as on that for him times was no fature at Congress or in any campulating of the conduction of the c

We'll get the Aga Khan goat over hat victory though Jinnah d'd not recome his audicable visits or ever open the Khop field. His Lightness in restood however toe a de of so price essignouslast return. Nor was the royal "we" he used in that last sentence. Shaft and Sir Farkli Husain a others lad he used in that last sentence. Shaft and Sir Farkli Husain a others lad he used in that last sentence. That there would be "no at he oxonal of his "agree, cut he cates at east Jinnah's ambividence can a bing forces will sconsorvatively pro British a team. He has no man or at idea there was no fature" or his in Congress or any "Hindu at admit" pithical party. Shafting into the execution keep page with the Aga and Shaft could hardly be accompashed without first athing however in neutral goar.

I set Jair nire he was back in Borobay Ruttie was virtually bedraider a he is justed going out rarely and taken only for short works with Karin and a stroyur, her these he must have known she was near the end known in the lier sach and left the assembly budget session started early it is not a her sach and left the assembly budget session started early it is not in the sach in procession and left was to pixel a liked with the moth in min in his only sach in pack. Kin be seven for an illusion than the received the each other." But that was even more an illusion than the received as the discussion of the League I advice. Luos after the rats and don't give taom away," she asked Kanji on February 18, 1929, being too weak to the interest of the I we have any constituted and have on a her twenty much builtiday. Buttle Petit Januah died.

Chin an Lal was chart up with Jinnah in his Western Court apartment in New Delh "when a trunk call was put through to him from Bomboy. He quite to conversation was over and such Batt is seriously ill, I must be to toght—and their there was a passe. Do you know, he added 'who that was It was in y fail meta-law. This is the first time we have apoken to each other start.

I did not know then but learnt only later that flati was not merely senously ill but she was actually dead $^{\rm re}$

The funeral was held at Bombay's Mushm cemetery on February 22. Kana met Jimals a train at Grain Road Station and Grove him steers trying to coordine him "that Ruttie would have liked to be cremated," but "she was buried under Mush in rice. "It was a manful, a my train. I imals as allent through all of its five hours. Then, as Ruttie, body was being awered auto the grave and he broke down to stock and solved and wept iss a call for maintest together." Chagla was also there and he too recalled "there were a talk tears in his eyes, adding." Lat was the only time when I found Jimah bettay up some all low of his ar weakness."

By care March he was back in New Delhi's assembly, responding to Mattal's cut toot or on 'couring exposes' for the vincroy's cobinet which mad the constitutional question of orders of greenness between the all questions of orders of greenness between the all questions over the Report von in irresolved and therefore the altempt of unity grows to Report von in irresolved and therefore the altempt of unity grows the for Ind.a has no one a dead some Juntal reported Mothal the day best to ende that hyperson that Juntal draws beare beyond Mothal the day best to ende that hyperson that Juntal draws beare beyond in the port since the freedom to the New Departs on the mountain the realists and the source be realists at the courts be realists; the office of the source be realists as the courts be realists; the office of the latest of the Most in the country be realists; the office of the latest of the Most in the country by the court of the country by the court of the country by the country by the court of the country by the country by

lineals ended to now to Menlar Javakar and the rest that are stoke, affect from in their sine Legislands but that was not in case tisk His with the not the Muslim League minamed addled with dissension, the rened the adjourned session of his League in Old Dalis on March 30, 1 29 ad had not set; so no of his grade "CI" the early hears of he nomor 4 meht before trying to hammer out a new platform on which all of Has out at I The tarmed by wed reed which came to be known as the to Points of Mr Junali, was opposed by Dr Ansari, Tassadur, Ahmed k a Sherwani, Dr Mohammod Alam, and Dr Syed Muhmud, all of whom and sporting the Nebra report Maclana Mohammad Ab however stall for butter a triangle a ported and whom artedly that ment g, which bees the vibration of atoleries ranship and in a many many hard better was now trybe chare a boding Martin star law way dealy with to entre a del toget to be the out to The territory of Manager to the first sees a replantia onto estine end, and hoped it would float, an arx to which all of them might survive the coming flood. As of Ali and Dr. Saufoddin kreen a omed beneving it to be the best solt non-under the incomstances." In there was no en his as of in his makeshift craft, little of ance that those one conjugates would see that first rough squals of any storm-ravaged a Nor could be consideren hold together—even for one day

Next morning the League was to have met at the Rowshan Theatre near Apr - Gate i. Old Dell - Januar was to have opened the meeting at 10-30 A but arrayon, lat doubtless exhaus ed after he long right of hickoring Dr Ansari's supporters were in the front rows, and 'Dr Alam forcibly ocand be presidentia, chair He presented a resolution approving the Not a depot the called spon Tassadia, Ahman Khan Sherwan to second it The gathering, however, did not allow Dr. Alam to conduct the proceedtills. M. many Monomerad. Ah nemanden that he should vacate the hair 1 Dr. Alam off and, the audie or rushed towards the plattern and a genor a moder tollow. Just the a penalt arrived and his appearance seemed no man to me soft may effect but goinging the fatal is on the enterprise I would be mader backed, se methor advanted the ress on without the ag to love his feather, so his that the influence waiting him a sa busto or had let used to other so his many pointed purstoner I a is is in them that I the s is if Missim Lidea was to be "registerroil, then it can only be accomplished by a united decision."19

No to say a round of some the jornor league had, in fact centred to es a strew mortrogs ad para Leither for lack of a carron r because . b. In mayter. The rest of "Maxim India" was either a thin Congress . "re Manana Aby Kalam Azad repealed, or impotents divided into . I also s a fe "parties" none of all oh all and more than provincing is Shafts mag in cert a next force in the Punjah Dr. Ansar consuced Asid Al. aid Che iclass Kha quezzan as te hel. It is start a new Nationalist M shir party that was affue has in the United Provinces. The Aga Khap I a acto I is awa Ale India Muslim Conference a continuing searmar of consurvetives such as Sir Fazl-i Husein. Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, and the nawab of Chhatari. It was less than three months since the All Parties Mushin Conference, and they were all running again, in different directions. rick real stic were interes prospers of palling them took together? I've copt for a few persona, friends such as Malik Barkat Ali, Abdul Matin Choudbry and Sir Mohammad Yakub," his loyal helper in running the League, Syed Shansul Hasan, rightly noted that "others were reluctant to Work to hear and he proper and seems to a proper figures over the incress the net compare Irraro sign. "10

Fromb his no place left to burn but to his British friends. The publical

climate in London was rapidly liberalizing, and his old Islangton Commission colleague, Ramsan MacDonald, was about to become Westin asternation and polestar. That May the Tory government fell and Prime Masser MacDonald appointed his Labour colleague. What Wedgwood Benn. 1877-1981 hater Visition Standard worden at state for India., and, wisted no time traveing to bindle as soon as he carned of the Labour vector, for a long personal talk with Lord Irwin. The sector would be returning to London in a few weeks to meet with his new chiefs at Whitehall and 10 Downing Street Johan. I good him to press for a strong decount of the Home government hat downing status was the goal of Reish hiller for India suggesting a Round Table conference in London to draft such a constitution.

But the "present system" was again coming under heavy sing. Gandha had returned to Congress center stage during its faul hours in Color to to prepare to rount a new intona. Sugagraha is apage, it is ament failed to reput any the Nebru result within the case during 1925.

The Mahatma moved the Cut gress resent or accepting Mottlalla report for one year only accordently avert a light between the torces of Mothin and I a sharlal on the Congress flow over whether the national goal snowld be dar mion status or correlete more endence. The Congress will adopt he North Report, constitution in its entire vill tis regard is the British Parliament on or before December 31st, 1929," that resolution stated, "but is the event of its non-acceptance by toas a term its earlier rejection. Cona research meaning a money object don-to a sera ion by advisor the courts. To as havel or and project of a reapport as a set, cd 5 Des at 11 sum to of that resolution's mover Subhas Bose proposed an amendment calling for mplete independence" without full or Jelas "What is the fundamental ense of our political digradation?" cried Bose the future hunar. Na ional Art is o tan "onder, and ater twice Congress president. It is the slave sure table. If you want to expressive this slave neutable you will do so only spining our court is near wall a desire for confidence "dependence" at the was 1- ared a ld a 1 ming 1 ma was ready to shed its blood for freedom The darkest days of 1922 were by now forgotten,

On June 10, 1829, Jinnah wrote to Ramsay MacDonald, his old friend and if we are master. The nesser metros as a cressrous deadloss and if allowed to continue it will, in my judgment, prove disastrous both to be the set I had a set on the Bernar. He had been been political events of the preceding few years, especially since the appointment of the Simuo Commission and the future of awaiting its report, since "50 far as a left at the set of the set of the set of the last o

thing that I would ask you to consider is how best to restore that faith and revive the confidence of India in the bona fides of Creat Britain."10 He warned that "there is a section of India that has already necurred to favour of complete independence, and I may tell you without exaggeration that the movement for a dependence is gaining ground as it is supported by the Indian Nation I Congress. To come as the momentum of such a movement which much considered no less dangerous a threat to India's security than due the vicercy be a gyeste has step one a delivation "without delay" by The Macety's government hat Treat Britain is unequivocally piedged to the policy of granto giant and an inesponential Covernment with Domestion status. The effect o such a fact arithon well be very far reaching and go a great way to create a lifetent atmosphere in the country." As to pra fical accounts maples out son a declara on he orgen has frend to furthe represer tut ves a 1 am - it is addite in a position to de ver the goods the cause completely many size or India is not possible at present " to London'to meet with links, afficials till they would reach a constitutional fromtion with light care of see he a may of the viceros, the we ag assent if the ic. is a 1 is 11 groposals that formulated could been be placed before Parast ent.

Lord Irw traches Landon at the same time as Janah sletter and went accords to the amount life to need with Westgesood bean, suggesting the releas of Louid Total errors and folial to caracteristic Dominion shall as the goal of the solar for India "I". The new secretary of state was exposed to convey by wisher to be satisfied that we were not going a and the busis of Sulpha, et al. Connaission who were then preparing in a regard I according to this issee both suggestions with Sinnon and was much interested in his reaction to them," I ratio rocalled.

Somewhat to my surprise, he at first saw no objection at all to the declaration access the result Status not felt difficulty about the Round Table Conference, principally on the ground that it would be likely to affect adversely the status of the Commission's report, when it appeared, by making this only one among other papers that the Conference would presumably have before it. . . A little later, again to my surprise, his pos tion changed on both points, and I have now as a most of the way may be offered as Read by A whow whatever the cases he faming expressed his set size of with the Round Table Conference, and full in with the plan of an exchange of effects with the Pr. of the set of the Government and areachist recepted by them, on the every proper ground of the need to take

So much for historic duplicity seeling to salvage Simons face. Actual credit for both ideas hamous not to Irwin but to his new unacknowledged acrosser lineals.

Soothing Simon's ruffled feathers took time. It was not until August 14 that Ramsay MacDonald could reply no "private letter."

Dear Mr. Januah.

If an very sorry, but owing to a mistake [sio] your letter of the 14th of June was not put immediately before me. Let me say at once how much I appreciate the aport in which it was written and how glad I would be to meet it in say way possible. The report of the Sinton Commission you need have no hesitation it assorting was never intended to be anything more than advice given for the guidance of the Government and that the intention of the Government is, as soon as that report is—it is not on make in your let et will be pondered over with a desare to one them. In every way that ever motoners will allow. But one thing I can say here—because I have said it before no additionally allow that the want lodge to make the totent in of the Govern nunt—that we want lodge to may soon not status.

There will probably be announcements made very soon regard ag future proceedings.2

Frish was very pleased and optimistically replied on September 7. "If you are not my suggestion wit, which I am glid to find that you are in according to will a maps a height on in for India and the name of Great Britain will be down in bistory as one has on the two to its declarations."

Lord Irwin wrote Juniah from his "vicerov's camp, the following month moneycong that

Ills Majesty's Covariment are greatly concerned to find means by which the broading strong of the broading strong advance of the broading strong of the properties of the properties of the properties of His Majesty's Covernment it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional angress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status. In the full realisation of this policy the States must altimately have they dive the states must altimately have they are the states of the states o

sint y 4 x 19 cq cy ts i 18 at a red I the licenses of co 1 x at x 19 cft in 18 million of the single form of the single form of the single form

SIMILA (1929-30)

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problems. They hope thus to be able to submit eventually to Parliament proposals commanding a wide measure of general assent 20

The first steps and would lead to three major bound Table conferences in London were this taken, and I mah was not one, the prime unmater's personal friend and acveser as out a night at complex process, but had now begut it the vicerosy see or usuary as well.

Irwin's hatene statement appeared on the front page of every major loding newspaper on November 1 929 Jonah was in Bombay that day and met with eighteen others in Sir Chomanial Seturyad's chambers to issue a joint jubble statement a response to any or a minoracement welcomed as a

fundamental mange of procedure whereby the representatives of India will invocate neet has Miges as Cover ment in conference for the purpose of terming a tile greatest loss ble beas are of agreement regarding the purpose as as as submitted or Parlament for the attainment of the armon Status by India in the reby reaching a south in which might correct be will a glassest of political funda at

Sure to Nation Bhalabbar Desay Sir Him J.P. Made. Oragla, Kanji Dwar kilind and his treat ar ware. I may have with signess that a deal and 1 in New Laid.

I mill be read in have the Note of Note of Note and any to the haders of any authors ofthe har Congress a policy of general concluding was considered with the great of general concluding was considered with the greater with the greater and the Indian Note and Congress the orthogonal Blain. The accordance This cacers Man fresh soon came to be caused, further insisted that "the [Round Table] Conference is to meet not to discuss when Domanion Status is to be established but to the construction of the last of the control of the construction of the last of the control of the construction of the last of th

Now men is Jawahan al Nehm wigh that Mandesto than he regretted in the home a second of valleng ait will such as Bose and his compared to Presignation to Presignation in the second of Congress which he had not accepted Gandling and the Linux had a such and such he had not accepted Gandling and the Linux had a such and such he had not accepted Gandling and the Linux had a such a such a such he had not horry and no principle at stake. About the grown, no one else can wear it. It never was to be a read of with the grown, no one else can wear it. It never was to be a read of with the cover, no one else can wear it. It never was to be a read of with the cover, no one else can wear it. It never was to be a read of with the cover of the such as the first and the such as the such as the most they would be will ag to do by way at incommendating the viceroy and His Majuety's government them, however had secured its much promise of change as faming or mand than the such as the such that the such th

unequiable, yet not unfamiliar position, of having to try to bridge the gap remaining between both sides

Jinnah, Candh. Motria. Vehru, Sapru, and Pate, met with Irwin at the vicerous house of New Della at 4 30 PM on December 23, 1929 Irwin bad just returned from his vicerigal tour that morning, and as his train appreached Delhi station a bomb exploded under one of its carriages. Fortunately neither the vicerus nor his excert was opered Gandha was first to speak that afternoon expressing the horror be and chose who accompanied hun telt at the attempt on His Excellence's train " offering "congratulations on Their Excellencies escape." Hie then asked Lord Irwi: whether the interpretation of his announcement sub, shed in the Congress leaders' mantfesto "The [Round Table] Conference is to preet not to discuss when Donumer Status is to be established but to frame a scheme of Durmon Constrution for India. was accurate. Gandle explained that " adess agreement was reached on this point he felt it truttless to proceed to in other quesions from posisted "he thought that the way-ling of his appropriement nade the position plane." The eligect of the conference "was to thresh out the problems which arose out of this Majesty's Government's defining declaration of golies. He then mack, added that here at his was a chance "of doing something log and the danger of losing a great opportunity." It "was absocs a impossible to lay a down that the Conference was to druft may sert cular Constitution. Irwin argued, but 'it would have fire fulles of porit its to discuss any proposals put before it. He emphasized that the Conferet a would be absolutely free There would be no closure to the freest lisension the Conference would not be took at proceed to definite voting, not would rather follow the bies of the Imperial Conference, a record being kept of the general sense of the members."

Mr Gandhi felt that the Imperial Conference was on a different footing. There all the parties to the discussions were more or less of one mund. At the Indian Conference this would not be so. However much they argued they could not reach a policy which would be acceptable to all 22.

It was a remarkable prophetic conclusion, coming as it did amost eighteen ear price to party on at a atterpaint, braidreds of housands of manhauss waster as context pass and an observed, and methods of further words, after the form of the paper Condit admitted there could be used to be a formed the condition at the result of the Confedence," he could not take part in it the demanded "complete freedom at

once" and said India was capable of "solving her own problem of defence."

Motial agreed adding that "British people exaggerated the difficulties in
his war of Domeron Status for India. There was no difficulty about having
fill Domeron Status at once, though be also not mean that the Indian form
4 1 could be exasted to be exactly the same as any particular form of Dominion Status already in ordstence."

or a Irwin though the "unreasonable" and looked to Jinnah and Sapru at it is not for more effective support. Both reasoned at some areigh with the following the self-extra the argued that those who went to the receiver and the self-herty to propose Dominana Status Supposing a time of costs side somebody pointed out the difficulties, that would at court narrow the issues, and the true function of the Conference would be added as in a theoretic of the way of inner at an error of fall Domination in the reportions of the way of inner at an error of fall Domination in the reportions of parallel and after who had segred the him is a face red sog of attend a other conference to argue about one are stable that the conference of argue about one of the fall to article that the article regent perspectives.

Prochest Andre Vehra gave is as his opinion that no indian would be so slicid with less than Dominion Status. He saw no difficulties in the way almost fill But if there were any, they could be solved after the control point was adjusted india and also show their for herself. The and was the transference of power from Great British to boths.

The litterness and cold inflexibility later noted by those who were to n at] energed or the wake of this aborted conference more than in it is the Role's death Once again he had permitted his hopes to not in the what he had 'arreaged," after ad, was no near gible affine He is extracted from Ricisary MacDonald and Lord few is no ordinary may We about any me partial a could have taken her place head Catanda and Australia as an independent dominum helping "the progress of are a lear arego as male put it to the muster whom he had also assi red "a great success" in response to his amouncement. And he had acto a dit the air the same room, though that more had taken almost two months of "negotial ng." Then to watch everything disastegrate before the stone wal, erected by Candhi and Mobiel as spokesmen for Jawas the are they ear on a new John in lighter Time as I a A pay to continue process At Aletes meant when he said that he saw no difficulties in the way to winning doput to the top of the party of "the lack of "nity" and that and present a problem. Montal, however, was not even prepared to concede that a "Muslim problem" existed, even as his son world at II refuse to admit it eight years later. Jimnah kaew how much that resented ann. It's mere presence in so select a group, though he had been the most instrumental an bringing it together must have been stigularly offensive to Morbial for Jonah was the living remoder to him of why the "constitution" he had labored so hard to write last year was about to pass but if the trash him of history. Nor ould Jimuah have helped feet ig as the sun set upon that long and wears afternoon that he was at heart, closer to Lord Irwin than to Morbial or the Mahatma seated heside him. He had no Mus in Jingue left to meet with this year. Nor would the occurs now thirding him from Congress ever be by diged again.

Congress met that we was a Labore to con plete independence opurna suarar esolution passed at this Congress marked a radical departure for the Indian national st movement now in its farty fourth yea. This would be the host annual session of Congress held at 1g the Obris has holiday Press dent Jawaharial Nehri, a sounced, "Irasmuch as the Congress is interiled to be representative of the mor masses and masses are not as the helding of the Congress at the end of December, avalves yet a considerable expense to the pour people is providing or extra cluthing for themselves and is occurrence noniversent to their." The revolutional sharges subgree by Canada decade current had haver d to the point where Congress and its comper generation of teaders up wanted on tooget to be and at a way to the British Finpire at habits strutions, had nous, or timet tile Souther Juntrail 36 1300 was proclassed Pietra Stearag Dos for the Working Compittee of Congress, and a resolution stating that "We because that lad a must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swara, in Cities, he Independence "I was posted and read out to adjust across the subcenthent.

From his lofts tomels Mando, r.H.1 town. Jimnah watchod the rising of this new revellation on tide lash against official indufference and repression, mass. I his mights breakwaters athware every pateway to India. The areastill is face of drose waves would key shattering themsolves against these immovable object to be to know dark again. Impercept bill, the rocks and detoid in word timen would sottle and others and With the next high ride in most the corn would break through, and still more with the declaration of the corn would break through, and still more with the total after a made was wearied boried by be faithfully of tall. Was togething time for him or abande. I have together on what reach kept him there? He could practice have jet as a millionder confirming tames! It appears before the Privy Council, if he liked. There were enough such briefs in his

to the the best will and and an live a as be put to be to new a new angle of Sapa good with

ing Lunah on January 5, 1930. I have today read your interview in the Press. I entirely agree with you. The Congress has gone mad, but the worst of it is that in its madness it is going to involve the country in disaster "to Sir Le, was ready to start afresh enchasiast cash adding. "We must act and act together and with a determination that we will some my differences. I have no doubt that in this occasion you can be of the greatest possible use to the country." He wanted to arganize another all parties conference and assured I much. "I personal", hink that we should not find it difficult to bring about a settlement of the Haidu Moha addan question. But without flattering you I do say tout it is impossible to get a settlement effected with out your coopera on ma gordance. Impah agreed to give it a try as did Shafi and Mahmudahau. Handu Mahasabha leaders were also withing to join such a conformer after much persiand righted togolog by Sapra Jamah selected most at the Milshir representatives to the continence in Delhi that met on February 26, 930, More than 6fts delegates were myded including lead ag Liberais. Maiasaol nes. Caristians. Anglosfod ans and Madras Justhe party "Uncombables as well as Mas a leaguery Early in February Janah met with Maden Mohan Mohas ya the Hindo Mahisanna's elder in the assembly to his ass command for lems and felt the atmosphere has i presed" for possit e settlement. Yet soil ag han reads changed since Petersury 1928, except that Congress was not a altendance at the latest futile "all-parties" conference

Jama) had not expected to the of Sapress contenture rather he focused ans own attention on the London mena, and presser live in to autocure an openal glate of the Rouna Table conference urging the viceros to send out office if revisations.

The Mahaman had amost completed his heroic march from Sabarmati to the sea where re their symbol all made said in open violation of the British salt monope's manching a new nationavial hardgrafia Jinnah feared that the rising sides of Sutjografia and British in program world serve only to destroy the transle coast but had raft be and annothed even before I could clear Bon says hashor. Why would from not commit hards to date? His legion we not sinsed the viscory was trying to have away from signing the countert they had orally agreed upon Called back to Sukkar for the Fir Pagaro appeal. Jamah wrote from the circuit house there to Lord Irwin in April 20. Two weeks later Irwa are not reporting that the Roand Table conformace was set to start in October asking what Jimah thought of hooding the Simal assembly session in July instead of the usual Suptember Jamah (cl. no. see I purpose will be servert very virtual constraints). An avery is not if the asim by expected includes had see and pot respect.

get back to Bomba, about the end of this month and if it would suit you, I can run up to Simla for a few days in the first week of June."

Gandha's march, from his astroom in Abmeriahad 240 miles south to Dandi on the sea, and starter March 12 and ended Apr. 5, with the eyes of the world for sed upon this later day Moses heading his children of Incia," out of bondage. April 6 was the eate set or Carolla for the "samutaneous beguning" of the national de hathagraha, when Luidreds of housands of Incia as broke the government's salt tax monopoly law by steabing," natural salt for themselves from India's thousands of miles of coastine. "There is no alternative but for us to do something about tur took are and sufferings and bence we have thought of this salt his. Mail dring Canolis suite via is signal. Surat in April 1 Candh, was are ted on May 5 and taken to Poona's Yera via prison, which he renamed "palace" and "mander" ("temple" in his letters.

Less that two weeks after entering prise is the Muhass in wrece. Level from addressing him as abear Friend and began to negotiate with lam returning the eleven points. The had commented Ransay Musbound is Jinwars who, he occured essents I prirequest so mills off his "civil assemblera." ampragas before it had some difficult of the bell Tax" others demanded Reduction at land deviane at east by 30 m minimaking it so need to Legia a record rol. "Record on of Motor experience at land the different on of Motor experience at last by 30 m minimaking it so need to Legia a record rol. "Record on of Motor experience it as at be 30 per end to any one of participation of the Crammal In ellipsence. It was no political prisoners abolition of the Crammal In ellipsence. It will be a supported to popular control. "In a prison interview he granted, candibi insisted."

I have taken what has been called a mad risk But it is a justifiable risk. No great end has been achieved without incurring danger . . . I am an optimist in forty years of struggle I have frequently been told I was intempting the impossible, but invariably I proved the contrary 31

Soon after that interview appeared in the press, Sapra and Jayakar latinch I here pear masses who to the viceroy's private approval I mush hoped we we not going soft on he we of the Bound Tane conference he now viewed as his only ray of palitical light, guarding it with almost provides as the only ray of palitical light, guarding it with almost provides as the new viewed as his only ray of palitical light, guarding it with almost provides as a law or some the new of the representatives who are going to be invited to the Conference should not be published till the end of August or the beginning of September and I may re-

I stypii o let me see the list of the invitees before you finally decide upon a pin ses so that I may be in a position to make such suggestions as it may set at a color of course it will be for , in diminately to decide who should be not ted. This can be done while I am at Simla. The viceroy had insisted to the region assembly meet in Simla that July despite Jumains advice to a unitary Jumais reasonably while he is not not always resonably which is the notations, the did not always resonably being guard, elegant, and punctious, these two men were so althe they must have found one another at once it is a viceral exapperating.

Sign and Jamasa, came to the Yeravda prison to meet with Gandhi on all 2 and in the Mainten wrote a note for hand devery by the vice root asserted to Motifa and Jawahar a in Nain, prison stating that his

pto seed assisting is that if the Roune. Take Conference is restricted to a session configurate at at may be accessively in connection with I have Concerned during the across of transition I should have no about the large of transition I should be satisfied belief the miles of the ride of the Conference about its amploody raises it. I should be satisfied belief the miles of the ride of the Conference about its whole composition.

Cond. a seath over a gletter to Mothar on the same day adding, "My position seath a kward. But after all Jawahariah must be the Bind Same of the form of the form and Jayakar uncertainth of the arms of the form of the form

On July 18 Jewin white J much to inform him of the Labour governments have a new over of London's Lawral and Conservative opposition pur less to the Round Table. Jianah wrote him in reply, stressing, "May J mine nore argue on not to forget the suggestion I made in the course of our conversation at Simla that Your Excellency should do your utmost to arrange and be present in London at the time of the Conference? I am more as no set of a conference in June as pressed, this charter to the cost of a Conference in June as pressed, this effect the release a rions a some stage at y that A dult Galfan Chaffar Khai one of his two recommended delegates to the conference from the North-West Prontier Province, though as Juniah notes, he has no or very little knowledge it begalsh language." That "Lion of the Frontier" was, however the content of a law and and with a contained as the law and wit

Sapru returned to Natui prison on August 8 to inform the Nehrus that Lord Irwin had "no objection" to sending them to Poona to meet with Gandbi in Yeravda. Two days later a special train rushed them to Mahazahira, and from August 13-15 Congress s three learners met with Sapru and Javakar inside the Mahatana's palone temp of cell, Soveral other members of the Congress party's working commuttee mediding Valla in bhad Patel and Saropin Vaida indued them on August 15 the Congress pursoners wrote to Sapru and Javakar concluding that "the time is not yet ripe for securing a settlement his owns or for our country."

Januah's anxiety over the rate of his conference mounted as he followed news reports of the Yeravda prison "all parties" conserence from which he and the Musiam Leagua by his own how were excluded. He wrote again to Irwin on August 19 what was a most remarkable effect not only for the implanence and trascibility bordering on perblance it revealed. In the because it reflected what was actually a reversal of tones with Jimah my my fight vice to, to be more "firm and definite" in his dealings will, calling automalias 63.

Jamob bad taken upon mosself as it were the fire mardens of vieroy and secretary of state internalizing those soles in what be truly believed to be the best interests not inly of the Mossian minor to, bit, of the entire purplation of the interests and indiced, the wield it was derived Cameling the reintal a nob-lanced by now believed Jawaherlal. When a darkerous camer agreed and whose pulpment on did to the trusted and know that Motdal's fever was legiter so of a Fernana financial. The sensed that the older Vehrus wall had laber a stage to be sone afone governor rose we to ratch toward compilete. Dependence last test entitle fine mone talks intraced limitals have no ray of hope left in India only in the distant glow of London's Bound Table conference, the thoughts of which sustained him.

Lord levels wrote to Sapra and Jayakat from his vectogal lodge it Simla on August 28:

I fear as you will no doubt recognize that the task you had voluntarily under take has not been asset of hit of the general tone by which that letter some base leaders. In view both of the general tone by which that letter is inspired and of its contents, as also of its blank refusal to temp to the cross point to which the country has been subjected by the Congress policy not the least in the economic field, I do not think any useful purpose would be served by my attempting to deal in details to make a larger than the basis of the proposable contained in the letter as impossible. I hope if you desire to see the Congress leaders again you will make this plats.

be unded Round One of the peace tasks. Invin wrote to notify Januah of his filter response on September 1. Januah's reply a week later continued to use at less a communication from a higher official to his subordinate. Than in receipt of yours of the list September, 1800 and I thank you very much on a less is just to inform voluntaria. Is going to Sind on a professional application of the first thank now booked my passage for the 4th October in view of the fact that the Can frence does not meet till the middle of November. More when I getturn "4".

It has much o arrange in a nat was to he his last full month in India I is dry it yours. Almost thirty five years had gone by since his return from make Bombay his nome. The would be thespian had reached a in a social a an ost successful mana er a vicero, a after ego, and the prime amorter's friend. It was time to go back then to London-not to retire sits is set a name to enjoy an atmosphere less trenzied, less perdat the find his bad become Fiver guaranted and secretive about his private in the hade no promonement of their pairs on the eve of his departs of Those who know him assumed of our ray that he was more a pack-I may rut up for the Rount Table conterence. But he was planting his in a graphic acider of the law to transfer his practice entirely to appeals at as face as I by Counce the Eigenst court in the couper. In in de-A law restor of March David S77 1938 to priside over in Mis a healigness approximate a second which he would not honself attend. He to use a just a much faith in had a la leadure as a the Bandus Pure fel gr on ertax e no ang Jiraah was fen car with jette con-10 1 of the cord essing covert. The Borne Table would seem as the out that has fine act on British India's political stage. And should the curtain there descend on a flop, at least that would leave blin in London,

10

London (1930-33)

Januah had sailed abourd the P&O Viceroy of India, lowing Bombay on October 4, 1930. As the first stroke of moon reverberated from Big Ben on November 12, 1930, king Emperor George V stand. A before his the one in the Royal Gal en of the House of Lords inauge rated by firs you in Table conference on I shar, with his toessage being breat and throng out the world In wireless. Bays of morning son filtered, brough the high statued glass is nthous of that attredrallike hall filled with the fifty-eight we l-d-essed delegates from British India among whom stood for all the Agia Khan, Sapru Javakar and sixteen representatives of the Inc an states, nel nong Puhala and Baroda Bhopal and Alwar is his visit green turban plus a pholany of officials ed by Prime Minister MacDona d Mr. Benn, and Lord Sarkey the chancellor of the lords. Ex vicerous Hardange and Reading were there, as were the prime now sters of most dor mans of the British Commissional at all of woom remained standing during His Majesty's brief address. King George departed as soon as he concluded his speech. The maharaja of Latida the chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, their proposed that Primo Maister MacDona 3 take the chair of the ionterence and the Aga Khan second of the motion, which was carried by acclamation Liberal V. S. Srinavas Sistre spoke first for the British India. delegation. Then Junian as park so an fir the system Meshar letegates, rose introducing what the Times repeated as "the first agges up of controversy" "I am g ad. Mr fresal at [MacD., all the your found to be fact that the decidations unide by British sovereigns and statesmen from time to time that Great Britain's work in India was to prepare her fur self-government have been plain." . . But I must emphasize that India now expects translation and ability of these at any years pate action

LONDON (1930-33)

This is a stage more giorious than any he had ever spoken from before, ir . In a on, not stop, of a year and a half's lobby ng and labor from a world we but of his current iontical career. To other a few adulaon I to a re as improve Sastri had done, to say nothing of substance, in a gomentous or bistoria was unthankub offer Jippach Emphasizing as In and and the need for aution" was electric ag chough for word of use the return any of the princes who had preceded has dared, but Junah · + I river lowerty bombshed to app in that haddwed had. To consaid I must ex ness the decement at the presence of the Dowhen it is Mills as and representations I am glad that they are here to a ties the ar r of a new Dominion of India which would be ready to I long out the norther the Bratch Count of wealth of Nations Did If the six are are blue dream it women in fact by Jonah's destiny to read another as yet unborn dominion into that communwealth?

at in not Sir Male In Halov ex governor of the Light as well as to the Property of India's senior consultative official at the conference

As a de Ce Moslems seem up to the present to be faith well comto a 18 hore ported to Lord Irst a from Works. The Aga Khan in go in rule a but professes base, whing to be wither majority Hanah is of course a good deal mistrusted; he did not at the opening of the Conference say what his party had agreed, and they are a little sore in consequence. He declined to give the Conference Secretariat a copy of his speech in advance as all the others had done. to a coal tearrity was always the perfect little box ider and as a impury as the sels which his forefathers purveyed in Bombay or narked on

The Cult rener reconverse a St. Jamess Palace on the afternoon of Marcha Naver ber 17 The gat betore I hab Shab and the Aga Khap La a ctt Septe Set v I Javakar and Dr B S. Moone Suggers 1. Ind. Mah wish in the nawab or Bhopa's Leadon rese ter ex ar specialized any manage sed "a sorface harmon " as the Aga Klain put it by the contracts here were deep and officer tiefts of men a man where there are mand to be felt. Nothing had danager. Jinus I and most of the Mushins wanted all of his fourteen points. ad all the ball of the believed a remark to meet a polynope of Problem Marchaeller

As Jim h has teared, the conference proved much too large. There was ten the bear of the second or and four on the third. These speeches were so prolix, reclandant, and the A STATE OF THE STA than ten minutes for it soon became obvious to everyone that precious time was being intered away listening to off-repeated arguments, while the mage moment if world oferest and attention was being wasted Virtually all the Indian speecies however relined a ongle themr- the "whole future" was at stake. "The time has long since passed on when Inuia could be told to hold its soul in patience,"5 as Sauru put it And speaking for the princes, the gaelwar of Baroda was even more forthright. Even 8 r. Muhammad Shah warned against further "ardy neasures" But Lord Per , 1967. 2937 fermer secretary of state for Ind a under Baldwin's Tory government from 1922-24, who led the Coaser alive part is delegation, ignored all the appeals urgent appassioned, and orth accurate though they proved to be, arguing for an elementation of the finald 50 non Commission proposals

Januah spoke for only ten manutes on November 2t has addressed hunself directly to Lord Pres an strug that the St. so: Commission's Aeport was dead." He spelled out in his stief address, noreover what was later to become his stritegy for achieving Pakistan Evelor Wrench subsequently reported that when he oked J. nab. when he first got the vision of Pakistan

he told lie it was a 1930. That there is no exic gor that he serious y contempated leading the strugge toward its attainment as yet. Two points he mark at the Round Table is November 1930, however offer a pursual ausighte into his strategic thinking in the samper. I have no cosmo lon in correding this proposition that you IC entidrit in have a great a torest at ladia but, communicia and politica, and therefore you are a party. F.I. may say so, gravely interested in the fature constitution of India But I want you equally to conceve that we have a greate and far more visit interest than you have because you have the financial or commercial interest and the publicul interest but to us t is all mad and as to the emps. time of parties. I mak stated that " there are four man parties sitting round the table now. There are the British porty the Indian princes the Hindus and the Musiana. 2

James and long recognized a wide range of Muslim special interests, meeds and dimands by this was then departure and occurre a major the a of b's Passistary strategy that is, that the Mustime were a "party" a dataset the separate trees it not a really open to the Handus, the princes, and in British His second point was at least as rappor ant but remained still a clied with ag a three construct by most who heard it as nothing more to the best engage to be assisted the sol of the grander of ce parve e rich dr. he war draft adess this Friend Talla negotiated a "settlement" to 'actualy the aspirations of India" then the seventy million Muslims and all others who had "kept aloof" might be tempted to "join" the "man-co-asseration ingrement."

Junah then stated "the cardana, principle" which he hoped Bridish members of the conference would keep uppermost in mind, that "India wants to an intress in her own house and I carant conceive on any constitution in I or i may frame which all no transfer responsible to the Legislatine." It was, he argued the ast that would now suffice to satisf polarical leaders through not the subcontinent, those who came to London, as well as those who is a middle brooking the subcontinent, those who came to London, as well as those who is a middle brooking the remarked Mac Draula that two years earlier, at a Labour conference, the future prime is a sub-said. I hope that within a period of months, rather than years, here will be a new Dominion added to the Commonwealth of our nations, a Journana of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an all will in the Commonwealth. I refer to Ladin." Trenchantly be added. "Time 1938 two years have passed."

, and was user and to top oder a structure subour mittee chaired by Sinkly become which he are Shall both made it clear that no conto a sen work inless it proboded provisions which gave a sense of on r r at M same and her not ordines in Hades reported to Town there we achare it wery Landon a tennot at reso ving the Hippin Massin was het on liker piper i 2 and 15. The last of these meetings was at the are restern contry house Chrispers to which Hodes and Muslims a largery, and a motor buses," wrote flades on the 3th a bad a ling are a single of these ast right. So far as one can prophess, the in his tens are that he Minstens will give up separate electorates but will . . . re nator to 1, the fun,ab and Bengal and weightage in the other I were set I say present as proyer premature. The Most as act ag on whose cress of four hand, now reflect to go mack on their montener in separate of the is and demand not only these but a the terms which her as uded their for teen potats. The Handles, ied by Moonje went back on their agreement to concede the fourteen points. There was, 1 I a complet detadock 1/2 Ramspy MacDonald was so depressed by the Chequers flasco that he decided to turn to Lord Willington (1866-1) ica gi ec nor genera it Canada, for he o us age colong a new or I in the Their Irwins term as vicence expend in her 1931 and on December 23, 1930, Britains prime minister wrote to Canada's prime n nister, Richard Bennett, asking him to let go of his governor-general, explosing. And conclusted a month of as as a real to be after over ment of India, and I must now be sought in India itself. I know no man who can or set were considerables. With top of

the return to take the beby of India's government at New Delhi from

1931-36. It was not entirely coincidental perhaps that for most of Lord Winingdon's term as viseror bininh renamed one of India, though by their be more closely resembled the form idable marquis in temperament as well as appearance than he did out radical young nationalist leader of the 1918 anti-Winingdon protest. Willingdon's feelings toward Jimih sufficed to keep the latter off the joint commente appointed to fastion final Round Table conference proposals into a new government of India bill for Partitional optical to live a London, however despite Willingdon's presence to India a "Tarket who must base tempted him sorely at times to return it the legislative assembly as much as because of 1 Janah, did not bestitute to return periodically, for visits in Sonla, Delbi, and Bombey diring his ball decade of "permanent" residence in London.

Before Ramsa. MacDon Id's admission of failure to resolve the comis analy collection on a reach C hada, lowever a raw propose of the Moston position was being articulated an a poorly site ided meeting of the Milshin League in Allahabad on December 29, 1930 That meeting was presided over by Dr. Mahan and I day 1877-1838 a cos of trda porcept losopher of the Panjah. Though a narroster of Lincoln's Inn educated to Heidelberg and Month University and a graduate of Trimt. College Committing Alterna "Islamic School" I total remainer, deep a rengiona throughout his turnment at it somed the Miship League's Bertshi connattree when it was first started in Laudon in 1908 served as secretary of Shaft's ringue, and was a leading force of the Pun ab's legislative council fro 1928-30. In Aliabababababa and also first to articulate the two ration theory of arceone lable Hinds Max as difference. He was not calling for exercises not mad separation as vet but assisted that The purposite of European or normary must be applied to India without recognizing the fact of communal 29 as The Made a designal for the crest in of a Muslim and a within I wan a therefore perfora "staffed" He then went turtler that any previous press, of the league had ever gone spella goat his vision of the Jutare final destroy of the Musian comman nit of his own Punjab and its swighboring provinces. "I would like to see the Punjab, the North-West I mi I mus to Soud and Baluch stan ama gamated into a single State. self gove named with the British Empire or without the British Empire the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Mushins, at least of North-West India "10 I ball but and appendix" met the Round Table conference and in to come in the standard spreed criticized Ramsay Mac-Donald for refusing "to see that the problem of India is internationa."

On January 14, 1801, the Aga Khau, jounth, and Shafi called on Ramsay Much could to warm bits that "unless bits statement of the Coverguent's points is accompanied or an announcement of satisfactors safeguards for the construction most of the Moseum delegates will dissociate themselves from the findings of the Conference of Kan. Diva sadas reported that usus MacDonard tried by this interior win greater cooperation from 1 forming the conference by "castadly remarking to him in "the course of conversation" that

view of the forthern and changes in India the British Government would be looking for distinguished Immass for a possitivent as Pro- all Governors. The obvious in account of this suggestion was that "Jinnah would have an excellent chance if he proved to be a good lay." Jinnah at once made it clear to Bamsay MacDonald that his a new work not available for said and finally rejected the offer which he helicited was nothing less than "an attempt to brite him." **

It has Significant environ introver at least in important a factor by now it is reliability in the pung occurs for the acidenship is attended in the I alim de attend a condour in later over all of Muslin India. At the end of the first Bound Table conference.

Michical gation was auxious to earn beforehand what safeguards were to be incorporated for the protection of minorities. . . . A siter was roceived by the Aga Khan and the delegation met undiscrete in the room. It mile was derived and the letter was this was a linear comproved of when Mr Juniah are vest the went through it and pointed out the flaw where none seemed to exist—a thin a country of the area of the area of the area of what has been considered. All were amazed. The result Muslims secured for their tail in 12 out of the 14 points. 9

I not, a new on the eve of the concording plenary session of the concording to the first effect on the expensive product of the end of the event of

home for the three of them. He was ready to leave the League to lighal and his Fangar. Institute Jimah only terms thing portical problems was to enter Parliamon. Through who here or pure would have here. Perhaps he thought be outdefulled of service to Masam India for other or it not—de Privy Council remained, possibly even its Benefit as the crowning adherem in of his career. And the laws he read and received from India served only to confirm the wisdom of his withdrawal from that scene of chaos compounded.

Janush applied to London's liner Lempse to let chambers that had ust falcin wasness within its world. The Tennile's transverse was more other than Sir John Sir mon who wrote to assure a mutual barrister triend Bugwand in Dube that has line would "be very glau to have so disarguance a mutwilling our own boundaries, He need not trouble about recommendations, a., if course I know of about the preliminal lines, as, if course I know of about the preliminal lines, as, if course I know of about the preliminal lines, as, if course I know is labor the preliminal lines "" Jim b secured his chambers it Knog's Benet Walk before an winter was over a would take severa index of his lost state line tright social the appropriate house "a three clares of his art of the cools sed style of the 1880's, with minimal more and garles, and a tall fewer such give a silend I wew over the stroughting country." Set a the mid to the glit needs of gardin and pasture on the intend's West II ab Bond. This broke was terry down soon after his death his very and the anobscured years he enjoyed has also ong since I suppopulated.

Lord Willington was sworn in as viceroy or April als 1931. Before leaving Lorder by had here or trassed to meet with Jordal at his action in A above Braid on the morning of Saturday March 21.7 Though no record of their coversation has as yet a rest 1 ght 1 was more a sound that he tween aid trends. Jordal architecture and trends Jordal architecture and the media Jordal architecture and the media Jordal architecture for the receiving Women and the decouraging to the way always social is support to a vivin notificated as for receiving Women and are the accouraging to Million leaves to be a how much maddle and leaves to be soon much and continuous and the social state of the way always social in support to a work of the phase to see how much maddle and the other of the base her phase to see how much maddle.

Jinnah hoped initially to enter Parhament as a Labour M. P., desiring to try the fortune of the ballot box in a party which in the main" agreed with his own "political creed." His uncooperative stance on several key in a 1-th or 1

the Fabian Society ²⁴ yet even that did not make him sufficiently attractive to Labour's leadership as a Commons candidate. To British workingmon opps J mah hardly locked like a trostworthy representative—one York J is Lacourate was reported having said after historing to Jamah talk to us [17], a selection committee, "We don't want a toll like that?" By J me, an love Jamah decided to try securing the nod to run for a Tory conditional have the anardoned Labour and turned to the Aga Khan for help.

The opporations limited his he Aga Khan himself hoped to appeal

to be, grewing affects a Musician comands as the only effective internal

er have so a Cor gress revolutionaries

or with such high-level help, nelisting the Aga Khun's personal to a time and thever managers to find a Tory onsite ency will a time back his candidate. How he cent enceted to Parliament he might never have returned to line as political stage except for brief visits, such as the ency returned to line as political stage except for brief visits, such as the ency three respective for brief visits, such as the control of the line will be ency of the following close in a Taukkar case before the chart court of Oudlit to I many find an appoint at Lacke ay the versity's coron one evening to a first, reporting on the Robert Table conference and "his disappear is to a the attack of the Hawa leaders," Naturalist former dasor. Some and is daza, recalled how he "ruised his force larger revolving it.

1. If a visit we well truth and round it London. We are still going in a result of Table version the straight path that would leave to be freedom." ***

A shower le lucha , man visiteo Sim a conferring with old A show a cres who were here for the fall legislative session. Sinds hearth is a lar in and writtee either to report that There is no cohe in a scenario draw and heedless to show a real feeling your lone keep he will be a keep he witten Jiman in much the same vein. There is no outstanding in the right had written Jiman in much the same vein. There is no outstanding in the right had written Jiman in much the same vein. There is no outstanding in the right had written Jiman in much the same vein. There is no outstanding in the right had a lone right had a lone right to thought you would have been very helpful to lind an Unity. That gue and jealousy rampant on all sides. We feel to be seen every in a him in the right with the long can in Sanla.

By the evening of August 27, Gandhi, who had been released from prison by Irwin and made up his monet to go to London for the second when I can reset as he with it it I good not without that every aid a mass hope I may true to be at all happy but I are relying upon your repeated assurances that you we give personal attention to everything that is brought to when I is a galants. I will be made at one we does form in.

Gandh. "You can entirely reavispon my assurance to you "22 To Ramsay MacDonald, the vicerox had recently written of Gandhi, "He is a curious little devil—always working for an advantage. In all his actions 1 see the bania predominating over the samil" "Gandhi embarked for London as sole representative of the Congress, Jawaharlal wanted to accompany him, and many "friends" arged Gandhi to take Nehra along but the Mahatma refused to allow any of his offeagues to share his London and gift.

Junah teturned hore by early September 13th new passport as had taken out in 1931 gave England not I Islan as his place of residence in Fathan was waiting in Humpstead and Dina was safely enrolled in her penalte boarding school nearby Secretary of State Wedgwood Benn invited Jinnah to sit on the Federal Structure Committee at the second Round Table conference that started on September 7, 1931, but his rule was much dimenshed from what it had been the previous ear All eyes were on Candhi in 1931, for his was the viole of Congress on every consistee as well as at the plenary viscous where he spots. The Filera Structure Gounditee met from September 7–27 under Land Sankeys communiship. The next day the Minor ties Committee with reconstruction by Humsia, MacDonald with Gandhi jouing its racks it seet the November 18 or cases after which the entire Conference guitarred ag in in 81. Junes Paine in ple 2009 seession

The second Round Table conference achieved in greater in a hin the first had done for all its streamons wordy lason and well-meaning leaders. Supri. Gaudhi, Ambedkur Tie read of the Unbuchabes, and Jayakur The ranks of the Mester delegation remound fire bearing the line of their as vet unmet demands of the previous year. Though Lord Sankey reported that his committee had concluded its lengthy deliberations with the Lipe Gail an all India federation was possible, as an expole for the course Mescan deputation which he wisted. Than strong or opinion that the a histogram and completion of the scheme of all India Federation must with he set will be word time many years. No outstanding vital regredient of the scheme has yet been agreed upon "22 Sir Shah, Nawaz Ethatto, one of Studies all hiest landowners and he father of Pakistan's letter of min minister. I conclude a allermatic flexible sections for the same feesing notate before Ransay MacDo. I conclude a section of the conference has come to an end without ache vite. In 1 ngh e right "20.

Mr C. D. Brela, one of India's wealthest millowners and Congress supporters, represented the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at this second conference and "frankly" stated, "we are not at all attified with what loss taken place." "A Birla's critique of the Indian budget and Samuelal situation was as heilitantly scatting as any made to the face of a British cabinet minuter. Birla anggested a mamber of ways it which to r le cit e British "mortgage" to 40 or 50 percent of India is animal budget be the voiced the strongest attack of the conference against constitutional suffige as a "warning "you should not gnore the Indian investor." The India vestor Bela argue, he had fine of their leaders, "detests these safeguards which are proposed are not in his interest, to the air others of Cite Indian, were "accounted for the air others of Cite Indian, were."

out it was last to address the conference starting his speech after mident. December 1, 2931. All the other parties at this meeting represent ont in observer, argued the Mahabina.

t engross mone ciaims to represent the whole of India, all interests. It the name regensation, this indeterm and oners, of room natand a representation of the Army of their I see that the Compress is treated as one of the Parties. . . . I wish I could convince all the British and ea, the British Ministers, that the Congress a capable d h a gill, poods The Congress is the only al Inhawde na at all not a so not never of my commercial ratio. at Master proper constshere and I repeat that without a sol of phonors being so ved there an Swarz for India t , free any his Ind a But I to not does a r of some day a her is an rest and hyng solution is connection with the coblen to a that so long as the wedge in the s in or might are display common to from currently exhault class a dis - a . Il a n to siving so ution there we he no ving I also facts or year construction. Were fingus and Mus-. I and Sibs always as war with one another when there was all the second there a saw hardest for somethere? as win is the marrel scor a with the acute shame I dare to say it is cooved with the British advent to

consign K is man fidid not feel confinent about the true strength of home in the property of the property of the pole and associate mader has a surface to go to the pole and associate occoromic in light as a share should also the recommendation of the same at a property of the same should also the recommendation of the same should also the recommendation of the same should also the same should also the same should be same

that it represents the Muslims as well? I expert nothing to come out of this conference."

The discussions . . . during the past two months have been of value in showing us more precisely the problems we have o solve," concluded Prime Minister Mar Dona d in his closing remarks ** And as positive and a mediate steps, MacDonard announced his governors is decision to bring the North-West Frontier product onto fill governors status, and to create a new equally advanced produce of Sind two direct concessions to Mushindew ands that helped consince the Making delegation of this wisdom of its political strategy to date though the North West Frontier and the leadership of *Truntier Good on Alatti Challer Khon would align itself with Congress rather than the Musion League in tuture elections.

In moving his vote of that ke so to prane anaster on honelf of the conference Gaudhi warned but it was som what I kely" that "so far as I am concerned we have come to the puring of the ways," and, acced, soon after reaching Indian soil he would be arrested again a. Bo when on William don's order Jimah, on the other land, aged Br. a signerment ("give Provincial 4 tono a without a a smultaneously with responsibility at the Centre in British hidia" recognizing, as an Jid the otal a sossibility of getting the primers to agree to air i mera, selection for orders advised les British regulds as MacDonald intinuited to could the could anal question provisional.) I say this because if the British Government settle the corminua, question and make a substantial drance towards re-linearouslights at the Camere in Braish India bot - rights and Mahonimer ins will realise the earnestness in the part of the Cover to it and the bolk of the people will accept the cacersion. 40 The stage was this set for the next lecade of political togof war with Jumah's corsistations, formula preving in part prophetic is a rice pasing Builsh intertions, while Caudh, and his side traced themselves for longer measurerations and stiffer revol tionary us stance

The next leavy are in London would be the quietest least pointed years of the limit a artist the His discretion carrie wherea Break as a since the off is also are in the Country are a least neglect that Bradenies with a state of this, he was never invited to serve as a polynomial. Yet in spite of this, he was never invited to serve as a polynomial. If a since is the Privy Council. Yet in spite of this, he was never invited to serve as a polynomial. If it is not succeeded in his practice as the Privy Council as he had expected, which "chantened" finance, predaynoting him to return to India in 1994.

Discretible of the fact of the graph of the Son ones found only 11 was povered in 31 and port of

London; what he covered professionally was a seat on the Judicial Committee of this Privy Council Or he might try to enter Parliament." The truth, not also was not crough to keep him occupied Parliament of course, was his goal, yet every constituency remained closed to him. The judicial called the first of the Privy Council had it note, offered well diprobably have every as noted if a circumstant of Humpstead Heath and had probably eaten in every decent restaurant in London. Even if the theater some in 150 section of the west had and od it could be Called to see the treatment of the probably eaten in every decent restaurant in London. Even if the theater some in 150 section of the West had and od it could be Called to see the mass of well as the section of the section of the seas ceally nothing to tax has the sets in the important of the section of

Ding was bus account but Ding was away at school most of the trio and home the ter or of to loss She was a dark-eyed beauty lithe and whater State her mothers are leader was next or petalast as only an store a repeat daughte could be to be noting either He had two clogs, one to rim ole back Joher on the other a white West Highland factor the different away a way firm of course but she was touch too se ejer too is with ag ever goarding by from "intraders and esionally women. She based any years he over like a Begin I had Ali know recaded. (the how she sated Rarte' I think she wast now seen properties as Weatser to end her the world Witch "" In November of 15. , analy react C. Armstrong's to if Kema Marink Grey Wolf and sier of to have found his own refrection to the story of Tark as great conformat leader It was all he talked shout for a while at home, even to - who meknamed him "Crev Wolf" Being on y thateen her way of a tig maning him to take her to High Boad to see Punch and Judy The maced all impseud every Sunday was. Come in, Gres Worf take mo to a panto mme, after all, I am on my holidays."44

There were other districtions as well, yet all too few and far between their a Sec. Nower recorner to Lond. To help it instore the reconnect day one of the first two conferences into a bill for Parliament, the sort of job J much was most equipped to carry out, yet he was not even nevited to at a set of H man a set of point as a set of H man a set of point Select Committee, which the second Marquess of Limithgow (1887-1952) and the first of the second Marquess of Limithgow (1887-1952) and the first of the second Marquess of Limithgow (1887-1952) and the first of the second Marquess of Limithgow (1887-1952) and the first of the second Marquess of Limithgow (1887-1952) and the first of the second Marquess of Limithgow (1887-1952) and the second Marquess of Limithgo

again in Allahabad before Gandhi reached Bombay and by and January 1932 both heads of Congress were left to languish behind British bars. Jonal's Limdon retreat could hardly be compared to the barsh, enforced solution of a prison cell, yet he must have felt almost as lonely and cut off at times in Hampstead.

Government's "Communal Decision" was presented to Parliament in August 1932 in keeping with the prime numster's promise at the end of the excond Round Table conference and increase is to pressure from Williams don urging swift act in to placate brains Mishins. That con mind award assure I Moslims some 51 percent of the legislative seats in the Funjah, and just under 50 percent in Bengal, whire special interest Europeans would hold the balance of parts, retaining separate electricates and Mish in eigenstate in a excess of total population propurations in all Hindo major to provides. The found Toble conference ended on Christians evo 1932 with Secretary of State Sur Samuel Hindre 1880-1980, along that Mishins would be assured the final 33% percent of state surface and that Orisso as well as Sind would become separate new provinces of Bright India.

In Carolin Ige a purephlet was published that har written by a thirtyfive-year-ort Musing "street it in the Pag about he cohars Ruor at Au-(1897-1951). Now or Never was its title: it was milittled Are We to Live or Perch for F cel The shadows lightered 41, identified house is as Founder of the Pakistan National Movement of Laured three associates, also Color bridge staucuts. Moham ad Avan Khan Shokh Mohammad Saviquand Ina at Cali Khan who apparently empty buted to the contents of this parts phat which first publicated the name Pakstan "Rabmat Ales "proposed solution of the great Henda-Muslin's protector was correct on be salf of the that's on an Muslims of PAKSTAN, who live to the five Northern Catts of Incha Projet NWFF Aghan Provincel, Kashurat Sindh, and Bol the stap emboding their mesorable demand for the recognition of heir sepaate attend status as district from the rest of India."4 While has early 1903 demand clearly derived inspiration, at least in part, from Iqbal's Allalial I at less of December ,930 the Cambridge founders of this Post in fut ma movement posted that their man was "basically different from the agreement forward is another Ser Mahamman Iquar, whose Northwest intact a creamed a thin an infinite lentent, by in the least towns of a Hilliam a support frederit or of their own. There can be no pouce and tranquillity in the land if we, the Muslims, are by cather just the posters of the corsers d sale plant a reco

Some of the talk to a section applied in the section of

and or British officials before Parameters Joint Committee on proposed ta site one. Returns echood that as yet obscure demand for Michael were 1864-1940 who raled the Punjab during the Jaluary and Bagh what is are its marka, aw after nath, to tified betwe that committee in at I in argue g against an an India tederation since "if the Federal Govor a control of the was majority endeavours to force its will on provinces with Miles in the light, what is to prevent a breakaway of the Pai, all, Sind, tale in in and the NWF as already oreshods sed and their possibly for reig a Mas in beneration of their own" [Itages added C So Michael us non-p whore hat Mislim Federation was foreshadowed but ac operate than received one of Rahmat Al 5 pamphlets. Or could be perhaps have helped inspire It?

The grade Graddock 888-1937 former Home member of the gover at 4.1 a conserve tive member of Par ament. from (931) apnote to the theory of the transfer of the Constitution of Reference its a salar the lanston dea by August 1 333, when he asked ab-C. V. A of the North West bronter Province whether there is a whe I is I a faties of Provinces under the name of Fak stand " I suff You wrong Agrarage know at souls a student's scheme to respon by pay are at there ard." Sir Regins of was more sange he about is or area hower a vising. They have not so far but you advance the a also, and it may be, when those students grow up it will an a seed at setter a triast be in the bands of the people anyhow." Mr. Z. In T. a. R. a. t. 895-1982. The free-look wear's president of the League at the me me ages are for go meister had never heard of the word and Mr Ising Ford a Jahera needler of Parliament, who, indice took had a pror ladia exterence asked "What is Pakistan" Tuto 1 it A was served as a a kesman but the joint five member Mushm it a cit Mist La gue and the Al. India Musica Conference to the larkamentary committee, replied. "So far as we have considered it, we and of a standard argumentes are it means the Federation title nees hit to block was all not wing to drop thet "chiat a 1 control of the stage of with I have received communications about the proposal of forming a Federation of certain Muslim States under the need with the percenter of an Mistry of the Dr. Khada At a see oring as as I werenged to another the successheine has been considered by any representative gentlemen or association so far "

If J must knew about the Pakistan scheme at this date, there was no indient on to his papers of our r knowledge or of any personal interest expresent in it. Nor wast I he agree to meet with Robmat Als the following a light action copt. The after on a loss of war fact in London " Nor was I anal, willing as yet to accept the Musbyn League's invitation to return to India to preside over its annual deliberations in Joshi in Apr., of 1933 "I cannot return to India before December next," he rephed to that telegraphic invitation from Abdul Matin Choudhury in March.

Besides I don't see what I can do there at present You very rightly suggest that I should enter the Assembly But is there much hope in doing anything there. These are questions which still make me tool that there is no room for my services in India, yet I am sorry to repeat but there is no chance of doing anything to save Lidia iil the Hadus realise the true position. The Hardas are seing fooled . . by chance any scheme goes through, it will be worse than what is at present. . . . Thank you for your suggestion that I should try and stand for election is Sir [bridge: Bab of solo] is going to vesign Wel! I and say till I come to India as I am do, it December at any rate for a few months so

The schedalid De ember visit was for business, yet the prospect of reelection to the assembly clearly suppled from it wonted Parameter and one day soon it rought a most be Prelay is he was a up y getting hores to the Hampstead, essepar An K, an and his bravitable beginn arrive I that sun ter to add their onces to those seeking to har I aligh home. Ley had corne to London for their honover one may met an objet a releps or where he has wired them to dinner in Jumpstead. You must come back. I in just leged The people need on You alone can pu new Lie pto the sagne nd save it. Beginn I equal such like Beg in Shah Naseuz, appealed to him with the same site glowing bearity intends contrusing in and here we estup that Buttle had a splayed during their exerting ones, years of marringe 11 s hear's fire its arithmer began to oura agent with the revise zed bri batace of the twill list gain of life seven years. Liquat's naprecations offers of assistance and flatters were of course an idea to for Jonan always responded to a scale anned at his go, his unique capacity to "save" the to hom. In I miles the granular had to him was one a which he and be much of a daylor state, specking to one another and never so taking Mart or ago, and a their war o perhades when a new tital haguer a, word there highes at Horpest ad Heath Road remained dim And what it is the ster I would not are the prospect of in eagerly awaiting vast audience tempting enough to lure him back home, at least for part of each year?

II

London – Lucknow (1934-37)

Journal returned to Bournay in 1934, but did not close his Hampstead establishing it or man or his City chair less. The new few years would be spent suiting back and forth between as we would share on her him seeking to pared out his days between now house the incomparitie and and training to keep a uself aftered to both time works will be a very mostly in the bo-

On March 4 19:4 the Maskin League not to New Delhi and resolved n heal the second major sput, which was to amended the party one year carrier when as act ig president pariety M an Ando. Ariz of Jeshawar, "fired" ad the secretaries and "attempted to transform the League into a party of his own. The Aziz Group, and came to be a led mot a Howrah across the Heghl from Case itta is October 1938 it ca new legit mace but a month ater the Higgs at Crut p partied after its president Khan Bahador Hafiz Hidavat + usum, branded Aziz and his followers rebels. Hidavat Fitsa a one attended the Round Table conferences, where he had regularly met with I much Shafi and the Aga KI i and had supported the unified Muslim demands. The of the resolutions passed by his group in 1933 anthor ized the League Counce to meet with Junian and the Aga Khar to discuss plans for "bringing about unity at the ranks of the League". Aziz teadils agreed to bring his group back to the League's fold if I much presided over a in field party. If agail was at first reluctant to sorrender his post as agendert but finally agreed to step down for Junch, remaining honorary societury of the League I must was an arrived by the count of March to set the date and according 193 arress session has to be read booked passage to sail for London on April 23, so he could meet with the council only on April Land 2 in New Delta.

tallow and a discount of me a chilate of me bec-

of council who attended the proceedings that were closed to the press. After the council meeting ended. Jamah gramed to: Associated Press an interview stating "The League is perfectly sound and healthy and the conclusion I have come to is that Missamens will not lag behing any other consmanity in serving the very best interests of India. To condense the White Paper and does not require special arguments one has only got to read the White Paper proposals that is enough "8 Sir Summe Hoare and presented his proposals for Indian constitutional reform, known as the Wlate Paper to Par ia, ient p March 193., The federation of adia was to be a union of governins provinces and Ladian sties. If of whose powers would remain vested in he Batch Crown Executive a thority over the federation was to be expressed on schaff a Britains king experior by a governor a treal aparameted as Has Mairst is "pleaser" whose howers in chadrel st preme manual of the tall has and a r prees a ladia, and who would personaut direct and constrol the departners of left we externa affans and expensive a affans but strate has powers were the teunder the system it gover one deeperd on store I and Junior was on of their most outspoken critics. A dearneral referal argust are your envisioned consisting of a charge of state with not mare that 280 mem iers 150 of whom would be encited from British luce as I an assembly with not more to a 375 carbons, 250 of whom would be elected from British India with the rest appointed to represent the process was ex. There were to be elever governors provinces anduding Said and Orusa, with the apponded governor are each regressering that British king The governor would be empowered to seast masters to seast non-in-relying his provture during his pleasure. He would however be impointed to seek to select such executive aid in constitution with the person who, it has adjement is likely to command the a gest officering in the layer that " and to appear those heat pla post in the velo is immend the conflicted of the logislature. Such was the abuse of provides, an onorny envisionora by the Whye Juper. There were many elaborate safegua as and emergibey powers provided for the governors "in the event of a Breakdown in the constitution transfers the chr field a vigorous Fore opposition to the White Lauer in Milely. 19.3 but it passed through Larbarrient with a conformited to sept ideal of now secure most largishmen tell a thathe new business as

Jinnals's strategy at this point was to turn back toward the Congress to see if his feudership night not in fact, be prepared to concede all that Machanilla and the second of the secon

ticket, casqueted at the high handed way in which Willingdon and Hoare were ruling frum, Jimah hoped the firm was tiple for cummunal peace aid was reads to cannot a new series of talks a med at wearing Congress from a dependence upon the Hindu Mahasabha position. "Can we even at the severath again our, the hatchet, had forget the just in the presence of in ment danger. Jimah assets Criggress in his statement to the Associated Press.

nothing win give me greater happiness than to bring about compared to operation and friends. Letween Hinde and Maslans, and in this derire, my impression is that I have the solid support of Maslanans. . .

h is suit are in no way behard any other common to in their demand for thomal so I government. The crix of the whole sale therefore is on we completely assure Muslims that the safeguards to which the fact of all proportance will be consisted to the I have Constituted in the I h

Jorans will agrees to continue to work toward a united national plat in a timber for more problemsh imports of the Largue like Sir Fazler is a and I would Il about the pe ign with the awar of Chinatan on 1. 1. Linder a Miso of a ords against jurious as soon as too ship disapnord course Arabau Scar hor son. They shet to female Parl maintary II I at any convener by the namual of whater " at it did not prove . Ive since they tailed despite Hadavat's vigorous exertions to the a surgency resting of the Miss of Leagues concept to validate hi to me a in to represent most Mislims Old Hidayat's strenuona It is aid for a rational were responsible for his death before the lear ended. was north be me spring from that Maylo revolt against Jonan's " at s " send an strategy" of swinger, the balast of Musion you for Gorgress to the British and then back again, which thus won in the concessions for Musicans at every stage of the long, tough to a to aid a negotiated transie, of power remained his most effective mg-range technique

The Low too Junuar was re-elected that October by the Muslims of the Corporation of the representation in New De his assembly. Here was in faction contest since his was the only name nonunated for the seathle had first then before World War I, and to which he would return as leader of the assembly of the interest of the seathle had first then before World War I, and to which he would return as leader of the assembly of the interest of the seathle had been supported by the contest of the contest o

tined to become India's first president but their "heart-to-heart" talks failed to resolve the communal dearlock. Pand t. Madan Malaviya leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, who had also been president of the Congress, std. adamanth refused to a cept I make Moshin let, olds despite their organization once again the fate of helpiess mollons was scaled in a few sto-hlorid leaders who refused to stretch that extra inch or representational concession to close the gap divising local submitted stands and exempting it constitutions. A tragmented. The Junial Presad talks came to "an effectious end," as Prasad post at according the one Mashin leader capable of mining his impatient high sputted community, into harness with Congress's bullock team.

In February 1935 Juniah stood on the floor of New De hi's assembly to atroduce an asse diment in the debate that had not begun on I want constribona reform. His live par proposal was to accur is Communal Award segment of the Why Paper "us til a selectivite is agreed more by the amous communities concerned" to ugge the removal of "objections bio features from the provincial government ser ion parties, ar. the establish nent of Second Chambers, he extraordinary and special powers of the Covernors, provisions relating to Power roles Secret Service and antigence Departments which ender the real control at I responsible of the Executive and lagislature creffee of and to reget the allindart dent on scheme proposed for the centre as "the origids rottin, familiandidally had and totally anacceptanic " Bhalabhar Desat (18"" 19-6 Inodes of ac assembly's Congress party spoke against I make proposa to support the Committee Award and Congress the not vote no my part one-it merely abtailed. I much proved hunself the most he hant parliamentarian is Be tish Ind a

My amendment accepts the Communal Award ... until a substitute is agreed upon be every the consummers concerned. New + males that our Hundo friends are not ratisfied with the Communal Award but at the same time I can also tell the House that my Muslim friends are not satisfied with it either ..., and, again speaking as an individual, my self-respect will nover be satisfied until we produce our own scheme. ... But why do I accept It? ... I accept it because we have done everything that we could so far to come to a settlement

therefore whether I like it or whether I do not like it, I accept it, because unless I accept that no scheme of Constitution is possible. Sir this is a question of innanties and it is a political issue

Minorities means a combination of things. It may be that a minority has a different religion from the other efficens of a country. Their lanquage may be different their race may be different their culture may it different, and the combination of all these various elements to gion culture race, lang age arts music and so forth makes the minority a separate emity in the State, and that separate emity as an early wants safeguards burely it referre we must take this question as a policial problem, we must solve it and not evade it?

In no his argument carried the House by a vote of 65 to 15, with the offiis no and elected Europe ins voting with burn. As for parts two and three . s proposal, the were to ed upon together with Congress supporting I've and he government of posed, at a those assendments care ed by an greater agons, and related followed that his was but a "paper I a Suc dut As a no Parlament sould ignore with impaining but he a least dean is rated with a Brita's Lary with and to the Congress I so my monety your cound st he may ified, and it nod ded in or we could structure support to cars I was Comment transto a Muslin up as negative site a disjointy sustion has it remained is jet al book trying to recasture and of no a position of our minling a some and and the line is combined at the mountain of case, since the at a car high or are intigers, the Chapter a Boothey but Chaple to te il Mes no league o jecta a lis old boss appeals aid I hear by riging Just at to togasize a thoroughly nowe immunal to accuate to as persistent as a traverse of the people of t to a souteth arrive however, man was midly prepared , all your a nets that retained enough fact is her to creek him to in I steep about the S.S. Coste Verde to Lone in again to late to the managet divide s year between the pages of any estabit is the control of the property of the state of the sta a manually as one seed in so harmon that he reportedly earned 40,000 rupers per month (22,000) at the Bar alone

before 1 or 1 or October \$35 be retired to Bomess to help revise Mix i 1 the repeatable for the lectures that would be 1 the fireces at each to British Indias promine all and control legislatures under the Government of India Act of 1835. That act was a least of the Government of India Act of 1835. That act was a least of the Government of Indias and the complete section would never be implemented, the other portions of it served for the least of the manufacture of the least of the manufacture of the least of the manufacture of the least of the Mix of the least of the section for the least of the manufacture of the least of t

above a l. no advance towards agreement." Jamah felt about the 1935 act precisely the way he had about he White Paper that stred he "We all know that the new Constitution has been forced upon as he said on returning to indicate a 1935. It is now the duts of the various leaders to perfetch heads together and chark out a definite and cold on index with regard to the Constitution. If he heads together and chark out a definite and cold on index with regard to the Constitution. If he had been the stronges a take against if excressed in Lidia for Condition to he had announced his active entire from Congress in September 1934, devoted transit to the about one of the advances and any according to the advances.

I believe that it [the proposed federation] means nothing but absolute act fice of a last but so, now last store for a st developed being the last 50 cars in the nate of progress in a regress to the form of Government. No province was consulted as such. No consent of the process has been absoluted whether the are very to federate as federating units on the terms which are laid down by the British Covernment. My next objection is that it is not workable.

And before retaking his seat in the important debate. Jim L expansed who be proposed accepting the provincial nationals section of the new constitution.

First of all, the franchise emargement of the electors and voters. That is the foundation-stone of any Constitution. . . Next, all members of the Francial Legislatures will be exceeded that as an advance You, can set with a more will be not of elected nembers responsible to the Legislature and the Legislature will be resistantly to the electrical s. T. at framework of the Froncial Constitution is undoubtedly an advance. A

Jawaharia. Nehru had over released from prison in September 1935 and peri nited to leave India to him his tobered lar wife Kan ala hen I ving in the rise. Nehri, erra hed in himper il Kanadas death or Fer roary 28. I see his still him and in himper he avoided meeting with British though the trough the results of the second him in 1882 1840, the therat particular as undersective or still for India who had chined the returns him as continued in the returns him as continued in the return him as continued in the return him as continued in the return him as continued him and the him at Italia. I men had not the same new foreign minutes, hoped, unsuccessfully is convince Nehru of the value of their many cost of the Park Nehru of the value of their many cost of the Park Nehru of the value of their many cost of the Park Nehru of the value of their many cost of the Park Nehru of the value of the relation of the park Nehru of the value of their many cost of the Park Nehru of the value of their many cost of the Park Nehru of the value of their many cost of the Park Nehru of the value of the park Nehru of the park Nehru of the value of the park Nehru of the park Nehr

The Markette Chemical Control of the Markette Control of the Markette Control of the Control of

sent president introducing his old Lucknow Pact colleague, Sir Syed Wazir If san, the retired chief sisting of Lucknews sigh court to preside over the League's 1936 session. Fazl- I isaan shidd have presided but the filmess resulting in his death later that year forced how to withcraw for Fazi , bitthy dissiked Jimah and write it his diary a month earlier "I will not now go at of my way to be nee to rim." 5 Juniah gave asm no opportunity to that resolve however twice postponia, the last meeting they had a or hal for Saterday, March " .936 then can g to say he was too iss Sa Faza Concluded. It appears that he was avoiding seeing me "

The to shav sess of of the League and ated the slow process of transon g the seast of grap od parts a to a mass movement with castict with this were mought in the ountry who could not note earthdates a great the Laugus s message a over Muse or town and a large of South 1 to that find that it hope persons to be ressed in the League in the applier expander secreta aparters and states tent volunteers were a read a part and other case salas to carry of the policial spade as a la conced by Sr Syed Hasai, in his over hubal address a tops on, Congress Langue mykation to all offer progressive poa rest he course to find such me can assess to agreement as . It alde is to dot together to draft . Coestet i wie for India " It it is for he or gifth, Luckness Pact approach and the pre-N 1 1 mg Al Larties Congere as concept He has even gone so far as to hart in in its a said serve he hoper to here Jawahartal's Congress. I to passer then he Mahasabea to a Roune Table-thu time on marting) he l.

V ... usualic responsible government with adult franchise, to like the place of the present system

Ib a f the same to repressive news are, the granting of the right of free speech, freestom of the press and organization

I make to see re f to the peasantry State provision for in the to the and the mere proyec, and an eight hour workng way with fixed minumum wages for the workers

4 had a reason alson pensury education !

from the cloc resol tion sching is Leagues on thate protest , esti julia Car sur as surver he Covernal Elodia erry cross that have an examined and represent teracd political partition of the refres new Julius Charlet a del appointed an ie was as the Cormans had reacted to the Treaty of Versuilles. He viewed nesse tions by a like which will be a longer the

British into changing their scheme since as he put it, "Armed revolution was an impossability while non-co-operation had been tried and found a fathers " T effect such a constitutional transformation, however, "required all communities to stand shoulder to shoulder "

Supre an strategist of pend dum negotiations that an was Jinnah probed first at the weak points of one opposite side's their rished to the opposite side's exposed flank always seeking as he shutted his ground to raily his former "enemy to his side Small wonder little ides mistrusted him Yet carn tiedereated him, falling to see that he was, n fact the most ngenus advocate, then of India as a whole and oter of its Musicia a torrivalone extracting for each client the greatest const at ma, cuncessam which the Brits: and Congress, were willing to grant all every turn Just when one say thought to had him securely a re-core , until warled with again totally out of reach for example in New Delhi's asser to m March 1908 the Congress parts had tabled as adjournment motion of cense to against the govern ont for haring arrested a bland a nose. The British could not become that norrounder of challenge are only they had note that enough milependent , art a new to but I down that as Januahural jobs with wrote it a letter to 5 abbas the center to 19 you was a seed by a majorn of three vites. Juneau and some of bis colleagues remaining bravely neutral "d

A month later Lord I solding me opt and Lord Willington as viceroy, coming out to many mate the Costeti no he had now most as a mental in he put to an ilet and remain of an outil particular to mitter in his fire road ast to look a Line throw to consister to assure his place asta and .ence of his persons inpart, that studing "God has indeed been good to ino for he has given up five children. I love them all most deatly But among it's children I have no favourde. The vicinos a sou, sho reported that speech also wrote of Jumah's "reserion" to it as "o imous," unding to what must have need I alshgo vs percontinu of the League seather's policy that he "tord las followers that the new Vicercy's pledge of impartianty was a poor reward for Muslim lovalty to the Government "

The cause noneh Ji-mith stood perors the Mishin League almost six condening as Ad huhad of this and a full torce years after the first the he call for has some argue has followers to stand "shoulder to about the contract of the parties of the nation tens had at force that he was in the way or to annually the alter of Multipolar ser power private a lignoral like Sure role to see the transfer gas t nes Von 18, e d esa M v. Va. n. V. I. o. er K ag at the War to the special terms of specifical in at in line . M. . in a cold to the street .

i vitra power mah's vision went event that scaring to encompass a the met complete equal y among rations English and Inusar or Pake st the general remains dies should be some of its leaders persisted in a ware his Mirs in der ands

a strengt on the League, bulster its bargaining position, and help pre-... to confession electron, In such was a thiorized at its Bombas meet and to appoint and preside over a new Central Parliamentary Board and are province parlamentary boarts. These boards secular to those in a bright d by Congress, wire I become Jornal's organ Za ional I see hing any power of the entire Michael comments, in was not In calle Ma it has ger to a a deprace from lift for a promiin Man a ticara score his cate havel shiply met for the first nd long or 1 . . Sell 1880. Spr For ded on 1 the 9, removing I at I was town for the verse or has a all both female was next at a real residence of lebal, with whom he met Y Jashore thirting the last week in May

I do for the thick of a sessible in doing us utmost to see La hard braid so with a private presentative of the Mandahata of at mostly copiety after bechount's first neeting? He on I sla well r hers: I ouncil the Milled Miss on League a commence of the end of the same and the sa the allow a good here, is the Post begoing yet as lenders it. It is the first but reduced three feltite premiers of not by a til Kha of the Later true cas it & & heavards car in a Bong and said Chinerger 80° 1960 of Bembas and the same states, who is not to attract and retain were or an of containt algree and integrity In a to love More were see "weard sto a nation ? In treet in he are fourth as ness experience as well as er a bod a francial real as a secret financial trouble most in . in 14 1 to o pu the compact value of our even though A in the first very pose a cuspical special to, majorita .. S not r to so about "I were returned regard! The a I may Muhimidahad come to the League's rescue when it was still I a call process the representation port it finites to after last a rearrest on the people of rear Ma) su .) (r we was real recover among penal's moscat personal friends in the party, was Mica Abol Hassan I when I be to the of the second and he excia empire, M. M. Ispahor (Ltd.

market large to continue to 11.05

"It was in the Michaelmas term. Ispahani recalled, "that Mr Jinnah ac cepted the invitation of the Indian Majhis to address its mombers. He were with distinction a thin streak of grey bast right in the middle of his head ... At the time I could wall appreciate why women of diverse ages fell captive to his charm and personalit. "22 They met again in Loudon several weeks later at Ispahani's uncle's house-on Putney H.D. Ruttic's youngest brother, Jamshod Petit, was Ia saham's Cambridge classmate and friend Jornah and his binde were invited to a "grand dinner" there where a "jazz band performed" and most of the guests cut capers"-except for J much and the voting Ispana a who went off to day hil ands walle R toe and her brother did the Charleston Despite such early intenacy amah and Ispaham rurely saw one another girn r B 1936, when Ispaham was "astembled" to be invited by I will to join the League's new Central Parliamentary Board After becom- a barrister of the luner Tem de as maan, had gone into his family a besiness and, though elected to the said. Its corporation in 1933 look little time from business for eather measurem or national pultics He did not however has tate to accept Jinnah's call and canerged as the League's major backer in Bengal

Henah's League was faced in 836 with two parties competing for Bongali Mashin alleg aree the analy of Dassus Line d Afral a parts, and Fazzul Hairs Areshick Prom Samits - Pasants and Tenants par The t away scheduled a three day convention of his party in Calcutto's row's hall, but Ispalian and his brends in gineered a "dispute" there - only August, by getting Facility and his tuliewers to attend the conference and to demand to be heard, which raid to the conferences execution. "It was agreed between the United Mishm Part leaders and Fazi to Long's group to as te you to settle sa to Ispaham were Jonnoh, adding Wonderful opport into created please leave for Calcutta immediately induse date de-

a diam P

I mush reached Cal. Ita a week later and addressed a meeting of Bengali Mus in leaders in the fown half. The Latte 1 Muslim party agreed to merge with the League. The purger brought with vital leaders into Jirnah's ranks is H. S. Sill-rawards, and Khwaja Nazimidden, who would serve Pakistan but a as powers a general and princ a saster respectively. Initially, bachil be also agreed, and a made must be sets the Central Par, amentary Board. and he Suptenders I I. In Leba well his proud. Always one radical than his based pull and there been bling proceed as court merceion, only, the erical contraction become as home on The attack of many of his change a control for the substitute Biological Conhere is not so be builted as I are correct as the arterior conjecture parties in the last of the period his more with

at rasing additiona taxes Jinnah tayored both measures but insisted on hip manale legal payment for each. Fazh. Hags Krishak Profit Samith ranges over slate of canonates for Bengal's Mushin seats and managed to cape to a root so any as Jiniaha Leagie did thirty aght to his forth. It was into all jest before the new provincial assembly over that Jiniah could negot in agreement with Hag merging their parties and turing enough Mushin seleptindents to join them an order to give the new Bengal infinishing at a 1-1- in Hag house a leaded, a confortable majority and Jiniah radio in their right that is differently as heriorate secretary of the League the vinitiation of the toth League the vinitiation of the trial differently as heriorate secretary of the League the vinitiation of the trial differently as heriorate secretary of the League the vinitiation of the trial differently as heriorated as an east stational and the trial differently of the League to the results to north as the trial differently of the League the vinitiation of the trial approach to the League the vinitiation of the trial approach of the League sectors board.

The same of the state of the st

To make every effort to accure the repeal of all repressive laws; To set a research as a characteristic to the interest of India of the reach on the fractional to the the prepar and loss to economic exposition of the country. To reduce heavy cost of the repeal and provincial and allocate research and provincial and allocate research and stream and allocate research and atomic and allocate research and atomic and allocate research and atomic and the stream of the research and a stream of the research and a stream of the research and the contents of economic development of the country. To stand for the social, educational and containe aphit of the rura, population, To sponsor measures for the refer to the rad a leaness. To make elementary education free and compulsory, To take steps to reduce the heavy burden of free and compulsory. To take steps to reduce the heavy burden of free and compulsory.

Each of these link long been integral to the Congress national demand, and all were anotherous to more conservative Muslim parties, such as the let the leaveners and ords formed at Governor via the surgiciant of the order of the great design of the leaveners the let the surgiciant of the order of the leaveners of the leaveners

for real estate and his constant preoccupation with details concerning the daily management of his ever prohiterating portfolio of properties were in fact, soon to rwall his a teres in publics. Fris are property most of it conver roots of on Todium and became informable enough, almost as fascinating a diversion for Junial's numbered energies turing the last lonely decade of his life as Pakistan itself.

By this time Rahmat Ali, the founder of the Pakistan National Movement was residing at 16 Montague Road (a Cain or age, from which a massive punction of scanner religion of the page from which a massive punction of But aliands proceed forth between 1938 and his death in 1951. For example, "Mov I went re-to address this appeal to your Lordship on behalf of the people of PAKISTAN at this critical hour 1 evente of 11e SAS urguing "Mov Lords supported and a court in our father! struggle against the null resiscence of PAKISTAN proche proposed and a Federation. The Cover ment of Ind. Bill based on he I data Federal Schime has reasted in acute crass in the nation. I he of PAKISTAN and I as maked as in prime tence—an issue of life or death-for its national future." He continued.

I correctly hope that you kindly will lend your fuliest sup nort to the messand or drained of PANISTAN—a demand based in jostic and existence as distinct from HINDOOSTAN. PARISTAN is not third on soil now are its people Hindoostand citizens. The very basis and content of our national life is founded on fundaments essentially different from these in which Fundaments can map prospers.

We for Pak stars as have more not once plan for by reput ated the nost summer; corrected of our nations for in made by the State as we sell with 100 as Poders. Scheme They were no ner the delegates of PAKISTAN, nor the representatives of the Pakistanian people. . . These distinguished exponents of the art of nursender in complete disregard of the warnings of history, sold our not not not not only the orthogonal than an internal natural natura

I made to time is sudjoosly to ignore Rahmar AF and his angry attacks, which were to become even more personal and virulent by the eve of Pakistre him. If a lift not him were by the mode integer to gnore the politic decided for most Machanila with a heart of cambridge. The photographical heart in League's central board in 1890 included, indeed a number of important concessions to Islande fundamentalist groups within India if not as yet to the extremist ad-

Three out of Pak stan National Movement. Three out of fourteen planks in field exclusively to a special to special concerns of the Musiam minoralms 4x2 separate electorate seats alone were among those contested 14 and lates. The League's first p ank was "To protect the relitions riple to the Massa mans. In all matters of purely religious character. n h. g ven to the quarters of Jam at .I I'lems Hard Jandan 1 - P Lutte and at M. ands" Two later packs were "to protect and war sate Urdu language and script," and "to devise measures for the amelioto a direct conditions of Musicus. The indian Curing party born dering he kin but Movement and the rentived dormant under the lead if M. Jone H. sain Armad Madon and Mar sea Ahmad Said had - e of he hashin Conference party in the Litted Provinces to conat a set a Musla, and Board, presided over by the raps of 5 1 " I fig it Clair thry khal azzaman as its sceretary In Febhave all kine to each at a server him there of his heard met with a red a tid our proceed a name to on the Leagues Unded a temporal stars one they joined follow it was one a families and the first is asserted eagle a right for months power the notes he deceler was thet note Board candidates all raprais Sint) and the above glaspate estature while broaden gathe and a core II know that to build a cate to parts inpublic of assert I can be a seemed at the toronomial the British out he reight have I when I man I post is to a superior of ideal magnates the never later is a courte and neget at in from weakness talas and to none a so that is the day ait shis parts would be an position to battle har the market of being b

Lana A. K. a was sower furious at has ug lost control over dones. M. S. a Lo. a with res from his own province and treed his in the control of the control o

public school boy looked to a headmaster, with emotional embivalence but ultimate administration.

Janual's indement paid off bandsomely by the year's end his League and as alies capitated 99 out of 35 Musium seats for vitol its candidates competed while Congriss returned not a single Musium member on its own. Rafi threed K dwar was on ted only because of Khai juzzamans help It was an impressate show of smength, and had the League doae nearly as well a sewhere I analy anglet have wiested some real concessions from Congress shrughts leadership. In the Puritable own or only 2 out of 7 League candidates were record, in Assam 9 only of 34 in Bengal 39 ons of 1.7 Most of the League is minorial in Bombay and Madras were returned, and 1.09 Minorial League of ats were captured for the high bulb. Is a work by Jir and a own estimate his party returned from 60-70 percent of its total vursher of candidates. Congress alone wor 716 out of the 1583 seats in all eleven produces however emporing absolute majorities in most of the one of your triving hypothesis on 26 Mish is members, a Achibes to of at notion to nearly through working rough harder in Latine Musian "minus control".

Velica stabling the companies trial a 1937 mace the existance of refusing to take the Mustim League and the communal problem seriously misting

There are only two there in the country, the Congress and the government.... To vote against the Congress candidate is to vote for the continuance of Bit the annual tens.

It is to Congress a one which is capable of figling the avernment. The opponents of the Congress are much with a character than a community of interests. Their deal ands have nothing to do with the masses 28.

I refuse to line up with the Congress." I made insisted when he heard Velvas amplistic grasses in Cacoutae early an amount. There is not refusally in this country and hat is the Musims. "I have the Mishims alone" and the Congress to "leave the Mishims alone" but servery errors. There is not to be a mindated and decreed instead of the simple away from India's Mishim electorate it seek to convert in such mass of them to Congress splatform. "Mr. Jinnah . . . objects to the Congress attrifuging with Mishims electorate it seek to convert in such mass of them to Congress splatform. "Mr. Jinnah . . . objects to the Congress attrifuging with Mishims in Renga and calls upon the Congress who to those with the Mishims in Renga and calls upon the Congress who to to low Mr. Jesus and the Mishim league." "Mass does the Missim Lague stand for Nimitakes with patrifler inserts and acceptable the and any results of the Mishims in the second of trada, for and timperialism? I believe mat it represents a group of Muslims, in doubt in the mass and free middle classes and liaving no contacts with the Muslim increase and free

even with the Muslim lower middle class. May I suggest to Mr. Jimah that I am in this greater to see with the Maxim masses than most of the more sets of the Muslim League. "***

It would not be the last of Nehrus political errors of judgment in his 1 higs with Junual, but it was one of the most fair mistakes he ever made in a momen, of hubris. More than Iqba., it was Nehru who charted a new these strongs for the I cage prodding and chanaging I small to leave the I away rooms of polices to reach down to the hindred my lion Musims who are mos finac du auc ingo mara fie de There was, of course, I see possible way for the away a test of that mass to waken it, and to it march behind Muslim leadership. The ery of Islam in danger of The light door oo ld marge as the mante stand of the Me in Less Na a ther principle or policy Unds them." Neare had taunted, or many and a appendent " say in the assembly And for Jamah I says us say firmer at my gipe at transparently reggered by salar above in this his he Congress not enoperation reso trop retaile he had susand the goal in 1921. In his his was the secolar rational leadership. necking in vain to reduce a "Mahatma" to mere "Mr " Now Nehru bad used Vi be or larges on as a screent of form of robuk of or the tothe was he talge British tity I much appeared to pitonize despite his a Mas a boners a literary a more scattering uttack than lay abort the transfer are assalt parer awalianal was are connect in his kir after at an had reason to seel more confident a man was to see the masses in an incident about Congress of a I an it is an it a payer of a sament of the past for nother and father not has wife had lived to see his triamph, to bear the hourse thouand a larger many a granted at the to Honored a wn/mrtal", Ho moreover, was a man of many moods and the victim of the propose as the average from its created about ngs of sounder progressive and a so of a marker It was New as greater weakness a a ... man who is well to ment on londowship over all of India and releved as layed that he was "fit to rule

I have the more lost better non-except for a declared political and variance. He used a ger as a burister or an actor would, to sway his pay a season of a non-real darrage is a non-real darrage state and ull out free in him and was never to be releasiled. The batted he oft towars, behing was cold, born of contempt rather than rage. "What conditions to the busybody President of the Congress?" Jamah remarked of block in an interview several counts later. The seems to carry the responsal, itsy of the whole world on his anoughers and must poke his nose into

Nehru called a national convention in De.hi that March, following the elections, to decroe whether in fact Congress would allow its successful candidates to take the provincial offices they had won when the new constitution went into effect on April 1 1937. For Jawahari all this was another sore point of pride, since he had of en declarated against that "charter of slavery" and insisted he would never have inviting to no with his mg inplement any part of it. Gandb however urged giving the constitution it try as most members of the Congress. Working Commistee wanted to do, and Nehru bowed to their advice. The recused absolutely however to invite any elected Muslim League or other non-Congress conditions to his conference, calling it "a dangerous thing to revert to an all parts attribude" and insisting that Congress-should not cooperate with sensi Imperial at groups."

Khali juzzanian who belonged to Congress for two decades before merging his Craft Board with the Lengue is 1936, hoped the a Congress-League coality in government such ding horse I might be appointed to adconsister the I pated Provinces Muslim dafi K dwar, the r leader of the Congress at this time had been Mot lat's secretary and remained lawahadal's confident in Nebrusch, he prospore Kids, hard Khangezzaman were old tricials and it was hardly surprising therefore for them to discuss o coultnon-remarks with kide a promoning Khanquezuman "Iwo Mushin Lengtons to join the Congress Ministry in jor of his election." Nebru "turned down" the League after his victory. Maulina Abul Kular, Azad w. s. in only. Mos it: on the Congress Working Consented a dominaged to wear the provincial Clema parts away rom its control bent to the Langue in mid-Mar of 1938. traid used the classic lures of a province of cabinet office with all its seducthree perges tes to achies that branal cooler son. Hoof course, won Nehrus gratifud, and trust and was to preside over the Congress throughout World War II serving in Volena's firs call as measter of education But he won Januah's tridying error to To Janual. Arad's publicula treachers placed him reneal? contempt "This is wan to the knife. I man remarked after learning of the Jamset su Ulema's flop-flop 34

That Jav Azad visited Lucknow and fried to negotiate a settlement with Khang zeroan offering to oring aim into the inited Provinces cabinet if The Wee in Leagu group is the United Province a Logislature should conse to function as a separate group," its members all becoming "part of the Congress Lart." It League's not he as Pat amentary Board thus in effect, agreeing to "dissolve." Khalin rightly read those terms as a "death warrant" of the provincial party over which he presided and refused to agree Mean the Nebra called son the presided and refused to large the Mean the Nebra called son the provincial party over which he presided and refused to large the Mean the Nebra called son the provincial party over which he presided and refused to large the Mean the Nebra called son the Nebra Mean the Nebra called son the Nebra Research of the Mean that the Nebra called son the Nebra Research of the Nebra Called Son the Nebra Research of th

form behalfors to the are been been beyond by Clope

If my to reach any agreement with him appealing astead to Gandhi single withdrawn from active pointes to his Wardha ashram retreat. Ma I must set a message to Gandhi through B.C. Khen the leader of his agrees in Brun and legislature and other muster designate there.

I skell I must be given his two men, sets of its Mustin League to point in Miristry. The League had done ordinates in Bombas, capturing the his concentration of Newtonian Mustin sets and Khen and the good sense to a time to be understood to a done or a distance of the good sense to a superior of the properties of the action of the model of the mo

the former to sess it of the lengue was to be held in Liu know, and I say I Is a reder than dress must other galvanize his parts to was a wast ay or word serve as its death small the renot a sers in over that for it is so also as we as for the League I so to a the a the case by we could be Ispanian regular "smak thought r ar mokers cough or trachatis Vine 4 1 / aw no it was not a visitoo late "to like special that some a Sills of Sring Kilms, the legal armaids on his time in contract the ag Median Ir as premier advocate. Fateria I as a to tak dime no aparts of a virtually everywhere from them on till he end of his life, as sister-confidante, numerical, sound-I was all lot previously to or the world the previously before the and and tend and a country for cases to compare matters two rivil- dut summer. The most famous was the disputed marriage case of the time of same at me Jourah woo his corts appear in the c II set in, is present knowledge. At Lora Larrybe Authority as 1 of their and as in His prestige of the corporation was setels that no one dezed deny his claim, and, as usual, he won every case he appropled.

There were that survey are art of he mates Muslim has a most one to prove the area has the survey as the survey as the survey are the survey as the survey as the survey to the survey t

Nehrus attempts to cut the mass base of their constituencies out from under their very first if they failed to respond with alacrity and unity to that clear and present Hindu atheut challenge

Jinnah came by reif from Bombay, and as his train steamed into Cawnpure (Kanpur Central Station "a vast crowd of Musams mobiled his compartment," famil ud Din Armad recalled

So exuberant was their enthusiasm and so fice, their determination to resist Hindu agg essence but Mr., much otherwise call, and unperturbable, was visibly moved.... His face wore a look of grim determination coupled with satisfaction that is people were aroused at law He spoke a few soothing words to pac vither indiancel passions. Many Muslims, overcome by emotion, wept tour of joy to see their hader who they tell sure would deliver them from bondage.

He arrived that evening October 13, 1937 is Lucknow where twenty one years before he oas to ged the past that borg! Congress amit as League together in the first time. I add go a bright can at finds. Must not be that lasted bith langer than Word War. This improve clouds of on first darkened the horizon replacing that dawn even as the offer of age have a sepalchral look to a made drawn and tired last his a maze nor and Mahanadabud lad gal reset a small time of the last his a maze nor and Mahanadabud lad gal reset a small time of the station and they led their provident and be station and they led their provident and be station as torchlight correage procession through the winning steeds of the former capital of Nawab Viziers of Oudh where many a Maghal super a machine and on betweelled elephants. There was a swelle at one plant fortherm the volunteers and some hot headed Congressioner." Khali hazanian in ported 4 noing one of the opening salvos of what was soon to become the Congress-League civil war, Indias political prelude to partition.

14 Jote from the rest of Mus on India, as was Hyderabad. Sind, the North-I me Frontier Banachistan, and Kashmir were islands of Muslem domenair get none was large enough, none strong enough to stand alone. The 1 . b was the mortar that integrated under, and bridged every one of huse other northwest provincial units. The Punjab was Pakestan's first and nust important capital letter and or suring Sir Signider into his party's ear I had raised the granting with its grant P" over the League's Kaisar I .. "It mal Carden" outside Mahme dabad House, signaling the birth of incheste out in that was to remain to the word of British Lid a for preme decade F z or Hay closed ranks as we than fateful day on 1927 garrer ote baster in a to the matter of South Asian Masters now in that it as it By sall own Jineah know that this second Lucknow part he had a trailed tear as inder he as workwent ast as his first met had as It was we but turned the for meet and Soon I waharlal w. Mr ne car could know it as well Soon the whole world would see of a seeing tral Miss in, a mojor ty mong that canorids whiteto the standard coor plash more he had set his monthly the had a to the set of the area and case seed as being freque tong a right New he had the premiers of the Ping board Bergal to stand beitem i test is he are especient there all this was a ring to be the s at her tax variety of May South Asia.

To see the manter of growing the trick a know section not It I gas plat are and politic I position had an January personal the fire con a her ad his arter sheelding the has lie Row and I have defect a sex Port ab there yans on a court demand of Aun Cal ofer I the first the repeate or the " or broner of Lift chan sport the night at Malin habad He so and after breakfasting with the raje was about to leave for the at the star of least the read to a black Person or The New J. Att. of the Armar Street A. or. 1898-1959, and of the greatest provinces. League leaders. He asked his friend if he might try on the same of well some he know throughout the world as a a value or not a name thorse ose the white of b a Johnsens in a mirror be knew that it was just the headgeur needed to give I. M. 1 r costs me its crowning touch. At the 1916 Lucknew session over ad a discount of the artists of the time en r 1 k to co Photomarch r di a vari illari sub illa conce. It soon became on famous as the flatter "Countly cap" of hand-spon outton, which the Muliaton and Javaharlal wors. That cap came to symbolize Congress membership, ust as the Jinnah cap helped immediate y to distinguish and socially Mass' in Lipague leaders.

This Session of he All India Musian League's one of the most critical that has ever taken place during its existence. "much began addressing the estimated 5000 Misdons from every province of India crowded into the huge trut erreted in Mahaudabad's garden.

The present leadership of the Congress, especially during the ast 10 years has been esponsible for anomating the Musalanus of India more and more by providing a pure which is exclusively. It india and sauce they are formed Covergone is in the six provinces where they are in a majority they have by their words, deeds and program on show more and more than the Musal saus cannot espect any justice of face play at their hands. Wherever they were in an aporte and wherever it is the distribution of the play at the intended to co-operate with the Vislam League parties in it demanded inconditional surrencer and the signing of their niedges.

To the Musalmans of India in every province, in every district, in even tells in ever too. I say your fare nost duty is to formulate a constructive and another and a more of work or the people's welfare and to devise was and nears for the six all economic and political uplift of the Musalmans . . Organize yourselves, estab-I shower so that a unit magnetic infly high a yourselves as trutted and discordered orders (we do the teeling it a cosperate corps and of coura let any ast uselves Wask loval. Lancisty and for the cause of your people and cour marty. A sid vidual or people can achieve me the without ad a resuffering and sacrifice. There are forces which has not you graphere yer con and into idate you, and you may even have to suffer. But it is by going through this crucible of the 5re of persecution which is you levelied against you, the verse that are reversised ne streats and utualations had that topporte you it is a state of a section ig it far og these us valences, hardships and suffering and maintaining your true convictions and loyalty, that a nation will emerge, worthy of its past glar and history as we like to make its father distory greater and more glorious not only in India, but in the annels of the world. I glits infiltons of Musalmans in India have nothing to fear. They have be a particular to the bands of an analysis, soft organized. retified easier 1 and retired to a copposit in to to unit to the transport over ever books the state of the s far reaching in their consequences. Think a hundred times before

you take any decision but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man 53

As their great leader sat down every Muslim in that pandal rose to down sensing a new League and been born that be some "magic power" Jimoah had taken his most "grave and momentous" decision and knew ith come to be the sound to "far reaching" that there would be no Lining Lack to lea and Not for his party. The Jianus what and come to Jiacknow still to the second come to Jiacknow still to Jiacknow still to the second come to Jiacknow still to Jiacknow

12

Toward Lahore (1938-40)

Building a mass parts became the Quand's Azan's primary secupation during 1635 and 1039. From us where is smeat became in 5937, other spring Lengue meeting at Lahore in 1940, the Mushan Lengue's memberal primethy phode from a few thousand to well one half the artely not mall four and for charged by Congress, mying any Mind mode must with two a mass to his name to join the All-Ind a Musham Lengue. The Lengue's constitution was revised in many other ways as well and moder need anto a vehicle of mass national capatitity interests a small and moder need after a well-deformance.

At Lucknow the League resolves to work toward "establishment in India of full undependence in the form at a feder, ion of free democratic States in which the rights and indepents of the Musalmans and other minor shes are ad quate a and effective a safe granded." Congress was denounced for emposing its own party inthem, "Bende Mataram". Has, to Thee, Mother" as the afficial new anthem of government wherever Cangress in paymes fact, pro-neig, power, "in callous disregard of the feelings of Musines 11. League considered this "song not merely positively auti-Is some and platours or its aspiracion and ideas, but definitely subversive of the growth of genome national sm in India 2 The League turther resolved to a revers by a most ble to make Urdu, rather than Hada. "the universal rigging of clean. Fir all a commensive prigram of sompecones is not due to referens as a propose I community the League "to fix working hours for factory workers and other labourers; to fix minimum wages, to improve the housing hygienic condition of the labourers and make the properties of solidumay, to grant a monitorium with regard to all debts, whether decreed or

otherwise," and ultimately "to devise measures for the attainment of full independence and invite the co-operation of all political bodies working to that end "3"

The week of demanding moetings at Lucknow took its toll on Jinnah's health He ran a fewer in his way home to Bombay and a hadrafag cough continued to pargue him. It was more than a month before he fell strong enough to vespond to setters from an provincial fleedemants including Mark Bark that the Longer's end of setter member of the Pumph legislature. If have not been well enough to tack the variets decay that an inferred to "Jinnah reprises in late November 2807 referring to Barkat Aa's namy conglaints agains him & kinder and his linguistic steel hard.

St. Scientific a the true cut in it the United League pact would remain famous thermost problem for is Barkat Uplad and others with potential awareness in Lahori proof saw the United services made precisely as an inal breat before Lacknow Porcides a ungiparty Sit Scientific assumed his fitting and Sid congress that Ji nath was now in his provide as the other way round. He Jimon in fact, copitalator, to the United the Congress was a copitalator of the United the Congress was a copitalator of Sidanders as the price of enhancing has Leagues status? Was the cost of Sidanders on Execution in a Villager was the Langues status? Was the cost of Sidanders on Execution in the Last belaved it was not vertible Panjah conundrum soon durit discipling over after Sidanders death in December 1942.

I much decided to shift the verse of his councils April meeting from La jore, o calci the others he had been a late December 1905. I mangurate or Al Irdia Mission Soluents, Pedication, Born out of a mercer of the Lacknow Missim Students Conference with the A Larb University Union and Al-Benga Mes in Students League tha federation was organized by Mohat mad Noman 924 2 of Augara, Noman and gone to Boa bay to 13th. I may be preside over his federation a first remail session. To the professionage. Norman recailed "I div not take more than a minute to get as a matter I amore toly very extend from to allow one to release the news to the Press. He got up and said 'Do it just now,' . . . From Calcutta onworls he Mushin stoderts marched under his gardance. I prigh and Fatting stayed at Ispahant's house in Calcutte, and some 300 Muslim studor's non- a North West Employ has been assembled to he i bixing kind SD r M or December 30 Hr talked softs without dramatte gesture or emotion, expansing that at Luckney, "I have only rung the nlarm bell. The hel is still raging But I do not see the fire brigade. I want you to produce the fire brigade. And God willing, we shall extinguish the fire." The most memorable of his statements to that newly organized Mash in her brightly was that "We do not want to be reduced to the position of the Negroot of America." I much now had the youthful muscle and eadre of energetic volunteers his League required. The older Al-India Students' Federation, which identified closely with Congress pranded the new Mushir bederation reaction and a Londanian. The raja of Mahmudabad was elected president of the Al-India Modal. Students Federation and Noman served as general secretar. The federations constitution asted among its objectives to at this publical consciousness among the Musaim students and to prepare them to take their proper share in the struggle for the freedom of the country, to work for the advancement of the semination of social conditions of the Musaimons, and to populated Islamic cut to an attack their proper share in the struggle for the freedom of the country, to work for the advancement of the semination of social conditions of the Musaimons, and to populated Islamic cut to an attack their proper and faith by combating anti-Islamic forces.

Soon after returning to Bombay in January 1938, , anal cutrained again for Aligarh, where he received a right royal resent on from ad many stadents, who as sted on nanhe g his carriage theorse was from the sint on to Abgarh comp a three pules away. The Quand s A . if he vered a nore cloquest than such speech to his vineterm cy claser ag guarance to that intellectua cradic of the Muslim Langue, You Mr. Pres. J. d. have said the Manual is born free " in all brace." When was he freed in these country at any rate we have tore; slaves for 150 years ". his was the first time lands used the word slave in a public ddr as, and he will on further Trained zing the plight of Michine St. of 1936 however | timb series his wildly cheering a corner the Mislim League had revita ized uself. Ind. That freed the Missionans from the coatches of the British Government. But now there is ano her power which olams to be the successor of the British Covernment tall the whatever name vivil at he vis Him and Tide Government. The closed with the glowing promise that the work "gathering the precious states, tables, suppliers and canonds, the scattered mergins and talents if the Musler comments, and when ou have got an artistic jeweller to set them it will be a jewel which you will be proud of"

In Marca. 938 law abarral was succeeded as Congress price and by Bengers 5 black hindra be complete one years of age and herearaby freely
from British distance. On the set of assing his marker of leadership to
Bose, Nehru wrote Jinnah. "We are eager to do overything in our power to
put an out to assing a beasing and to addressor to so ye extra roble theorems has a developing our with life a magnific lines
and general and an arrows if the linear people." Set are asked
Jinnah to let me know what exactly are the points in dispute which require
consideration," to which Jinnah replied. "But do you think that this matter
and he had been dead to deal to a surface or spince."

Jawaharlal agreed that it was "always helpful to discuss matters and probber of constitution of the surface of the constitution and prob-

a even preferance as it is more precise than alk. I trust therefore that you will in clarifying the position by thing us where we differ and how in our of the his difference to end "I Junah, however was most reluctant to it for an over the Lebate of differences insisting it was highly under the out most nappropriate "trenchantly arguing "You profer talking a in the whereas I prefer talking to each other "urely you know and you ought to know what are the fundamental points in dispute."

Is rejecting award righty repeated appeal for an applicated brief on the sequent fluid was not morely saving vital energy when decay to be to be to be to be to be to be to a veto a not to talk knowing but it match to be to be to a veto a not to talk knowing but it match to be to be to a propose as formula accorded by his to be to do not approve as formula accorded by his to be to do not be good against the wardly asknow but it as a veto be not regular pages of the standard ashire but it as a veto be saving to the standard ashire but it as a veto be adverted by kalland avaid as his guide and that it is also a considerable between the first instance as between you and the bat his his between the first instance as between you and the bath. But it even to be a standard as his guide and that it is also a considerable but in the law as a presed of the first instance as between you and the bath. But it even to be to change in our attracte and as a ty when you say you would be guilled by Maulana Abul Kulana a ty when you say you would be guilled by Maulana Abul Kulana.

I safes not on , spor ful recognition of his League as the "one that their political bad. Brooks but a representing all Muslims but In least 1 his west doubt by Can let of his regularity role as spokesre to tell its breater acceptors inspective neither position was tera a rate of the Bot and better an of while gelebate Recon of the action of the way after all the actions he wanted at this 1 al. with a more to tru no his cause of criting the it is at an acid the clear and present danger if a Hindu Tag to the of Congress and it oppositioned a 49 is wither previous or central, part if or even potential, would have taken the wind out of the e selecting s so per time of read direct growth his at a law sand a lased in rading of stacks come and Alasmin who curus for the feb re of his faith in a land ruled by hosts. It whose To at the term is given the aid ast as news, where ever pick not a long to he are also transfer to prose is a fight a fact out of the case of a tensor to a by a presence of the content but the Pokistan to the process

No start he areas after the content to the after the started in overheading the relations of rembers on a treat round of negotia-

tions. He became more tests as the coughing and discomfort increased. He required more privace a though his tolerance for crowds had lever been high unless he was on stage orating. I shall be arriving on the left [April] morning with Miss Jumph by the mail." Jinnah alerted Ispaniam in the spring of 1938, adding

As to my reception, please see that some proper order is kept and that I get home within a re-sonalit frue decases these long processions, taking hours and hours, have a tremendous strain on one's neries and phase a end orance. In refine your dast try and so that I get hours I a 12 o clock and have some rest at any rate in the afternoon. You must have read in the papers how during my fours to Abguit at a Meeting and other places I suffered which was not because there was at thing wrong with me out the negatives and over strain told is on my heath.

Nothing could have been a fore dissingly to his plant for the Leogic than to permit rumors of the frequency of the leon of the second well and go was more present to police I power. The seasons supplied as I have both some the leons of the seasons when the past had would never a sample of word lines shad well his charman. If he spice was to this, with do long emerging he and private plant all barne described and private plant to the present metals less of sail of and feet the are well longer periods of cooks seemed allow who between the runser of

To help assure has some mass. I mak remodeled his palacio is res. dence for Mount P, asant B and atop Malabar Hill in Bombay wit in was or more than 15 000 we re- jels it waster lend. This residence was care suxlern and samptaons that the small through it on Little a bbs Read. where he are I arise had I sed. He was also in the process of redecor-ing a sumptions new range the hought at No. 10 A gamgedy Road in New Ded a sour diplomatic schurb. That ast establish ien present serving as to berleads , basse was torned as in their night for low in much the said tale as his the upstead once had been a new it was aureover re-unred to go with the New Delha residence and Jonah selection a goors caloned Packard band with green, where thousters a real curtom regar-I glate arm vist in re- hir genong is ment ables Evented able Ispahana I relied 110 or en ug and paperwork through Khu tan Motor Co atta in talence and the courses such as elegan, apported vehicle then come 1 4 "10 1 are I a at the post was very well off financially. His a received in Mary and a resource months income of and the second by the by ne was 1500 perces a day the highest in India, and in addition he carned no less than 40,000 suppers in dividends from stocks alone in 1930,16 reflecting the value of his by regarding portfolio of shares in Indian industrial as well as commercial to use a part was one of the elite group of Indian taxpavers whose or o proced super tax as we as supplementary tax payments, and we are one weathy people was at times several years late in remitting likelities.

at a stam Just was able to report that Washin League parties" were a respect, of his seven of British ladia celever provincia legisla to an it may airst ; it those Parties is acreasing ten day "" to I would's a tractle langues blocked ain the central legislature, Le e and ares had been elected by elections head since the was called early 55.7 "The Congress sall adulted named." 1 - 1 - 1 from Calcut as floodby ar mahouter a and April of 1938. Mar one cour most than one that her der the spession of that a late and personal laws, there's another question, t nel nel a ann and that their feture destine and fate are the property of the policy their policy their due has I seem to construent and du adu sistration of the ar agent a right he last dity, and a the dreams and nothe state of the properties which is the submerged or dem man the siss a sit ender so mag as there is afe as them "finnights a a 1 torgies to respect and tear" the Muslim Longue after the enf avers to depend a race or themselves and to may be mess beept. Must am of course had good reasons to car en en an hel ague deented to collect all complaints a time of the ast all dend part ze them as broadly as pos all all a classification special committee under Raw Syed Then I has of tope to such that the companies in every Congress I se of , sa as well in written testim in from aggreened A - 1 - Loca S - x in tent his report to Jonah a meath before the V AND RESIST

The second secon

I am carrying on, but it is galling to me to think that I have lost the sell confidence that I possessed may a month ago. I have mentioned this to help you to examine the proposals on their ments. You will not historiate an insult to reject it it is soon to common itself to you in this matter you will have be easy the lead.

Mitru did, in fact ture over that task to Congress President Buse, who came to Bombas and met with Jinnah speach. Mar. But those talks resolved nothing, or bit tooking the growing distance between Congress and the League mean public apparent Jin as moved toward with its places for converting the League man. Journal to a so more mage of the Congress. He appointed by own Working Cam withe "High commond which met in Bunbas on June 4 Pass." It was a strong or to mee and included shandle bard. Has khal pizzuman and august 44. They alied juilled in pills II. League's status, going it a shadow minuted for that of Congress status, going it a shadow minuted for that of Congress.

gress or the British Labour party.

Nels a said from Borday ast two days before he Loague's High Command net and reachest hagland before the end or the where the spent a waxer with Cenent Affect Staffor Cours Another Be in Haroid Laski and other combets of Labous a shedow country to use iss the means les which the new Linhor givernatur we led arrive ower to India 2 V A Krishata Menon a 1806 , V at a London host close friend and jubicare had been are or Laskis discourse at the London School of Feor serves and he is first assect to any last Jaughter In Hro for that the still weekend at Coppes country load I has where so much at Lidias tals quent princal cut to was chart of William Saurish Civin War is the blaze and han there governors so the ent of a race of morning Nor atricity, an one was fider that its top at the help of Were minited could not an delayed much long at Both at Bilke a and in servsespect, derviews Velors was sen outspoken in his rid as in it Chamber his year ment british oreign policy is introly renormations and a manag taxers' green he wister 'As seel, it is branging was never whatever reprofessions or I feet India must be erate firmly what it has already declared, that it will oppose an imperialist war "at

the second spokes attacks against every policy of Chamberlains govern out local mass. Because the para atoms made more sympathet a mix receptive to Jinnah than they had been since the first Round Table conference of the conferen

as on one British provinces and princes, states that was to have been the is an at the Government of India Act of 1935. Secretary of State Lord Act. | 1935. Important of India Act of 1935. Secretary of State Lord Act. | 1935. Important as a result of evening Asynst 16, 1938. Januah ended up with the act is as a gregoration that we should keep the centre as it was now that in a set of inas with the Mislims by protecting them in the Consists of each of the Consists of each of the Government of the Act of the Consists of th

The mild are one glivotes to a low the government to enact is be one to March and answere his a mixture in support of martial to one on the support of martial to one on the support of martial to one of the support of

the first last of the state of the state of the contract of th

with the present Congress leadership in power, than he had at any other time during that year of speeches. For what you doe more afficiency, after all, to a man of his sens bilities and reforements, than to find himself faced with a rabble of 1.1-cad intrained. Himaa officials", a province after province—including framhay and Sind. What before reason for him as return to the side of his flowship triends and colleagues?

id is no use reliving upon any one else " much told by Moslim League followers in Kira-to the Liture cap alor Pakistan. "We must stand on our own wherent strength and build up our owr power and orge sanctions behind our decisions. If the Misalmans are going to be ditca ed in their nationals good and as are consult will only be by he betroyal of the Misalmans among us as it has beginned a the past of his was Journan's first public reference to his recent cross ved autional goal" or just and people for was the vagrant unconsidered remark the was not quite ready to reveal is long range a rategy to, there was self-mach organizational work and institution for idea, to be dura. But his sattle plans were drawn, and surely he plotested too miles when he I had with acoust our rony "I wash to make it clear that I up not fight up the I once commonty as such not have I am quarrel with the Hind's generally for I have harry personal friends among a them." Less take six in its earlier Liba had succembert to the familiary discuss that Is a new Janua La keade later for Schander alone ret amed his potential my. result he basecra Music reason Jor ale levited his self-instituting by to the about of bilding the Exague by buring at Man, is your meet that he alone could properly guide his 'en litera out af soundage to Hir tide i and the "suscesse status to which his Brahman rivals traditionally relegated all Muslims.

On the manage of October 9, 1938, Karneli v District Board formalls welcomed the Mislim Laugur and its majors 9. Sucander housed the League's green flag with the solver crossent 1, one and star after which Jinnab was presented with an "rdu address in a selver tray Karach's key to its util "I is a waster of pide for the Town of Karach's tax M. Jinnah, a person of soil great it manage and a well known statesman should have been four and brief within her embrace." began that address. He was also calculated a catter of the Companion of the Mislim Community. "I That after on Jinnah is it shand in Fazilal Haq and Khon B natur Allah Bux (Bakhsh) United party premier of Sind, who though a Muslim had can read on the original state of the composite of the League's still pality provincial list which consisted as yet only of Bernard In Katachico ut October 7, Jinnah had used with no fower than twenty

Most a tembers of the maltuactional Assembly, convincing them all to a first and finally persuading or so he behaved. Allah Bux to join his party as well.

"It was agreed that one solid party of the Muslim members of the Sind Let . Assert by should be formed as Mus im League Parts. Jinnah to me all 1 la consta emen to the Associated Press ast a few days later at of and as Maslar manisters promised to resign I must explanged if the larger part election was to have been beind to choose r new r ner is non-nous vot. o is default he should be nomenated I A joe in it early would abide by his choice Far , the next not use to a set, and to med that Sine's leader of the Unigress parts had a ... Sar at V Habl char Patel 1875-1950 president of the Atto a congress lad a mount Boata to abort him to the League's often tto a, and "When we met at 11 a clock on the 12th of October 1938 much In a short of year one Khan bahadur Alab bus backed out of was a smook day each gross asach of land acreeousy " Jonach the participation in the state of and services stands for II 5 Abdelia Haror 1873 942 to appea that o got to at a . In the acts during a that the latter "was in the a worth angues art, I was a next fatter of for I push to so all a I am Those of a rel I must account tent province of Sand water a H is a sat Beau Tacle and forces theing convinced that as a Me a maje a presence a and some secret a Mashin League goveri t Next Sarefair to ogy existing a man the site of organizations La and the School since, a received glob had seatched this plan from mugh's the just as he was about to savor its sweetness.

In war mover expect or organ Sarrar batch for having "cheated by of S. r. resp. by S. 101 a rounce out from an der bire at the view most got he wagen. "You have across achieved interrupts but the dogs of the sarrar so as so as the control of views." I have not the least doubt that the house is a S. 101 well teach a lesson thus tra-or shall bake how. S. have so have a record. Many fight of its sasses never caught.

For some Post explorer a loss Bijert in November 2018. I was not let be be a green par place with his Month and a second party of the Month and passed by the second model of the Month and passed by the second model of the Month and Month an

In our burshle optimors, however the problem is a real new and the some if is solved the better will it he for the country . . . the com-

munal problem can only be solved when India is free India can only be free when the communal problem, a solved Such a circle can lead us nowhere and will only make the country a prey to any foreign exploiter.

The communal problem remains attestled not because of the communalism of the minorities, but because of the communalism of the amonities ³¹

The report went on to list specific instances of Hindu Mishin conflict is now of the Congress ruled provinces after late 1937. Officeal Googress pour cies were bearined for destruction and harm to Mishin property and lives though not much detailed evidence could be see aid of a hat silv match.

On December 10 1938 Madana Maxharuddan Ahmad, ecitor on he Mosani Delin daily 44 Amais prososed to his newspaper that Jimnah he called Quard. Aram by all Mushuas to recognition of his status as a great leader. At the annual meeting of the Louis is sat a that mouth, John is new tale would be cethor astrony, shouted for the heat ting by me in acta wes who wasted to greet in right Paina's or Radway Station. The severemile journey from the harm station to the beautitus great silk tracked pendid in which the League held its three day session was litted with owers h Mishous, waving dags and shouting Quantit Azam Zanhahard" "Viet iv to our Great Leader" Need Andr. Arar he popular leader o Bih ris Li ted parts, chaired the resoption committee that spaced a labor money continue to organizing that most festive gathering of tens of thousands by the neart of one of Haids India's ancient bushons of our tare and power where in the sixth centure at Bodolia tiau august his noble froths of the ad pervisivo nature of sorrow made that is a transfer or and several continues later the Maury an Emper in Ashoka Sprrowiess and the message of pain, advocating love (shimes) and law (dharms) as its best antidates

The Congress has now you must be aware a lied every hope of Handu-Muslim settlement in the right rocal feature of features," and Quand a Azam speak of extempore on the right of December 20, 1938, to an encounterful

The Congress Light Command makes the preposterous caam that they are entitled to speak up behalf of the whole of India, that they alone are capable of delivering the goods. Others are asked to accept the gift of from a nighty sovereign. The Congress Hagh Command they expect the Muslims to accept the declaration. I want to make it plain to all concerned that we Muslims want no gifts. The Muslims want no enterestions. We, Muslims of Latta, have made up our used

The tangers is nothing bit a H right had. That is the muth and the Congress low its know it. The presence of a few Meshins, the few misles at a sign ided ones, and the zew who are there with alterior mat we does not cannot make it a national hour. I challenge an jody to h. h. Congress is not mainly a H right hoody. I ask does the tangers is present he Mus me.

When we get is behind it? Mr. Ganchi, I have no he sitation in saying a treat Mr. Candhi who is destroying the ideal with which the increase was stretch. He is the open rais responsible for 1 ming the seases stretch. He is the open rais responsible for 1 ming the seases as a season as a season of the season o

The norm of the stand has Azar I made on every norm successful. It is not in 19 met or ether a min Mr. gono har openhomenes bere for some of the end of th

The sound deliver the access was devoted premisely to choose some type of a Virtual of the Wiking Court to of the League to result the of a such access to the court of the control of the League to result the of a such access to the court of the Malanaso's Rolling of the Malanaso's Rolling of the Malanaso's Rolling of the such access to the such access t

ing "that the problem of Palestine is the mobiem of Mashins of the whole world and if the British Government fails to do ustice to the Arabs Indian Mushims—will be prepared to make may sacrifice—to save the Ara is from British exploitation and Jewish manipalitie—"In discussing this resolution. And in Satta, Khat is all hat worth the British and the Hindian were Jewis to Mashins, that is, there encours—in it a Mr. Candhi was the leader of the Hindia Jewish. Anothir Length delegale, Abdul Khaliq unsisted that The real Jewis of the West were the British and those of the Last were the Hindia, and both were the sons of Shikoka." Jimash intervened at the point servicing is khaliq to "withdraw" his "sons of Shikoka" point servicing shaling to writhdraw." In a servicing that such statume is were not in keeping with the dignity and pressing of the League."

At Parva the Mesher League resided to create a Mesher women's who comentee be used by Esta as a last which would on the first and ing women in from every provers a series a tream Delay Severs, women in hat committee as began shall have as differentially mesher and the repoling the attorner to be and lever as the first at wear a long the most brilliant attender and there is a delay in a Agradia configuration of the delayer and the mesh and one women to serve on the Mesh is largered as and from 93 to 1937 when what the deep non-native the first and one women to be serve on the Mesh is largered as and from 93 to 1937 when when the deep non-native at the services gap to being a members up and appeal. He deep non-native above to women like Beginn Navier Structure A Khaii of Nagour who recalled

I met the Quard-i-Azam in 1938 at Patna. . . . I used to wear burga in those days of the segment of an instant I put off the burga for the first time in a tribet or must up he Quard. Azam. I I knew that he was an extremely well-dressed person who was greatly the course out an unknown fear of time. When I entered the drawing course cover fixed or the figor and my fear the tributal in a 1 locked up I saw the Quard. Azam stanting reference he strictlers his name for a same seas. I sight a bowed down and shook hands. My hurband was very happy to see this, as he knew that I was the daughter of a renowed Qazi and had strong religious convictions, brace he was skeptical if I would shake hand.

Mary some at a few Land is recording the wood and an end to "purchable to the transfer of the second of the second

with a rister that he was, that the resolution on a stated that women a -1 be $_{\rm K} \approx 1$ in apportunity to organize themselves under the League in order to support it."

of I raght was becoming more in find. Congress was infronted n) tage for power between m tan voreg president, Sublins 1. In this oil as our servative old guard led by Gandh. Bose would x 1 " " lat an a Notal. "Great Lunder" to his growing arms of I was speciall englishing students who shared note of Cauch's a at a stas of our al at on When Canally decrard twould " st e gress to "T or Rose in 1959 with Marlana Arad Pattable. NITT a Jea Lym Notice opened to light ter the honor of a second that was less to your Congressia fast mereno election within a different an a string 30 views to Star miceas 1,377 He benever found it use the manner want so he received no cooperation form as a day k g Com no ex and his health broke down to . . . I to ulden a large if so put from his parts a nachane So had a to a be a of dias out and I horward Bloc party Soon after at rong the case open as the Branch, escape, to German and and an elstrated tipe true amand oppos to t Di Lip of Trasad Cap any lova Bihar disciple replaced toras or visit subject

The Nort to Use har Jun by 1839 appearing to him to con-" s att stjaal teastal posete " Counth was and the temporate go their with he branche and argon Nobel to on I has the en after afrocties or 6 migress ur v to the a time to take! If con pur aire In his hicharges and share on the greet has " of a came to ght atte to all a n con their let on no 10 reports from B base n to the new and and troop as of Musicas who were vo to no to I will bright gen fells 93" and Viguet 1939 In the it a same officers or hargen who whomat He less not guerring I was a way he was the other The noted mises of land Man to wer to ser as let didways been conflicts ver at is a second support of the orthochee recigions the it is some if my open courts now by a rest large system nat begil is a series in A is potential of a reterior I particle of the second state of the second state of the second se All in the Kora modern growth of the state o cet by a new rich start for y beet ly see y to object the same of the sa Maruph the material south the principal

out their sacrifice by torce at others their burned or robbed Muslim homes and crops while heir owners were at prace: elsewhere they attacked litter the sacrifice mided reportedly shouting "Ginahi ku Ja." before kiding or imposing the sacrificers In mass villages. May beachers were forced out of business and Muslims were coerced but giving up be floating "sometimes randous marriage pathes were the spurial others that now prayers or the abdution the men. There were reasons one glid or conflict in nost Ir dianvallages at any time of very floating Hays report charged official doing, however with consistents taking on a mesular is such pore the struggless." A Police Officer took or thing businesses of a Muslim has a agreement was the report to perform a struggless. "A Police Officer took or things have been appressed on the factor of the particular and the response to perform the sacrifice. In Causpur for example "Institute and and any other were velocing only lightly prosecuted."

Some Greenances of the Missions. 1938—639 in hard report strutar to the Papus and Facho Hag con pilations was an asked to a 1938 by the Provincial Association of the Brain Provincial Mission and associate the charmanality of Me 5 M. Share to Provincial Mission gives for reports of atrocetics against Missions con metod in Bahar to Shareer tigate was fairmore detailed and extensive that soft previous ones on which tid is based to specify an advantage of the previous and on the trapert which was its land and recommended to congress anders by a real Mission which was its land and recommended to congress anders by a real Mission advanta Khaishad Hassian of Pitra's high court as afforming "opinitumity to make enquires about the correctness or otherwise of the inventor is countried."

As reports of memority persecution could with British official and fference mounted. Jamah great more tristrated and at give of the social and British alices fearing perhaps that Lord Brahomes emexpected coals of causer costs in 1939 left and at thou aim effective support a Now high Lord Landingow who still adong that a very left to his corregal term, seemed from Landing prespective partial to Caustry and was sixtly a committed to the strong his rederation capstons of the Act to 1935 he person as had done so meet to formulate The sound be adopted only by a united social new Ancests Larringon sixtesses at every major address his does come should upon that it prends the position are seeding of Taum before the nations, and her capacity to take her due place in the world."

For Samueles Course party. Purpase Hordes Messons and Sichs all probing rogeners, ascense was I in elegenes produced a course of the course of

More than a hundred million rupees were expended annually by the But slow in markat pay pensions and stores to the Projab alone with threatened by Lock hyon as well as in Sikander Fearing than a hight bandon had for perfectly practical botton assons. I much that is required a proposed finance by in March 1939 to reverse a first order of a first transfer to the continued at part it added to them both.

Set a most russibly approve of the Hadge as I has been presented to its because we have no lot or share in its Now, Sir, the position of it. VI rud. Massim League Party in this Hause is a very peculiar one. Fortunately or unfortunately, we hold the balance in the House. If we are supporting the Government, then I think the Finance Memissish have be it to I statished as and he can carry this Bull without a commo of it being altered. . . Sir, in the past we had the fire of low of lower in this aght an exact statished as files of the significant the page at the see would might run it. But, Sir, I see now that thet policy must be altered. . Why do you expect us, I ask the Government, to draw the chasting to one of the fire on your behalf? Why do you expect us to continue he is not of the fire on your behalf? Why do you expect us to continue

the second of the special section of the second of the sec

At the dangerous time Jinnah seems to have sensed his own perilous time only as well for at May 30, 1939, be signed his last will and testument, the sense of the sense of the Mahomed Andrews and the sense of the sense of my sister Patr in James are not absolute property. I have given them all to her by

way of gifts during my life time and I confirm the same, and she can dispose them of low in any pranner she pleases as her absolute property. We have a so left her his houses and their contents, his cars, and a lifetime income of 2,000 rapces a month to be paid from his other projecties. To I so hereco other sisters. Bahemat Cass mbho: Jama. Miniam 4 abribliov PeerLhox and Shareen Jinnah he left a living of 100 rupees a month, as he did to his brother Ah red For his daught r not us ned is the will Jamab set spart 200,000 supress to be invested in order to privide her with a living, which will at 67 bring in account if Rs 1800 " new a that form at last he was most prorthodox as never adopting Is a new riset irola for against charging or accept by any interest. Aft. his day ghter's death, the 200,000ruper copies was to be displacer, rally retween her of librar rates of emales," though if she had no culdren to the work were the all's residuan estate to be equally divided among August sac, or versi-Peshawa s aslanne College and the Stiell Madrosva of Karline in a halso let 50,000 repres to his evers to of Britishian 25,000 each to Bombay's Appropriate Two Sensel area to e Aral Cong of the total

Or September 3 130s. Local Linbragon bound as: he news of Ceripony approxim of Polar I Limitagen net with Conductor abpost two bours the following day after what the vice saw I ad Marides, performs at not busing been included to the scoregal is a soul as we sent a message askep, Limit gow the nothing work by dime a wifet I comr make him more difficult to deal with 8 x oday are also repeated what he had already sale is public to a the l'uma or I her gal were who hobehave the Covergment in he prosecre in of the war want in I had and his friends might say "" | mush regretted Schander's attempt to min a front of los coleagues in the Misin Teag o to plenge co-operation" and cautioned for the governance. Sakano malor cook nor deliver he goods to Jumah appeal d to the vicer of a something positive to take back to his parts to be,) are calle Musico support for the air Asker fite worker Congress ministries thrown out, Januah replied, 'Yes Turn them out at once. Nothing else will bring them to their senses. . . . They will never stard is not ". During this conversation on Soptember 4 1939, notecover I meals re-oil dig the viceros that he now policized the only articiate polifical solution for India "lay in partition"

Gaidhi initially assured the viceroy of his "full and unconditional" personal support in the war, speaking "with an English heart," to but then explicit that a cache-condition of the Normal Condition of the analysis of the Normal Condition of the analysis of the Normal Condition of September 11 (1): 10 to 10 to

tion required suspension of all preparations for tederation while returning that idea "as our objective." India's princes had, in fact, proved relictant to commit themse wer to federation of any kind, with less than two him raying regressed willingness to participate in the 935 scheme in wast have given them one-third or diseast in the Legislative's lower and two-titles of disease in the reper against Congress worked hard a wicking to printicize states to democratize their rein sectation, which is League all he more intrinsiciant toward the reductation "und hard had nagate to so and like last one more." If not man "trap set for Min fig.

Nohr was in China when the war started. He returned to join the Cona World ground cocharing is three man was committee that inwhen Samuel had and Marcha Azar On September 11 Neuro went to Wild incention committees response to the victors decidant one. A et lee l'resenten re day was releve, to the press on Septenmy la saw Walking Come stery Busharion on Laha and the War " on a reprint his extinced to a tree usay growal of the ideology and and there's and have an interrupt character than it was and violence a pressure of the manual sports of the war is to defens, the a will be passessions clouds vested interests and privileges the analysis and a good of the Landbook wrote Zetland rewith a will a great reach than I would have to after It is a tragerly in which it in straight we ship down in so apportant a thetropic asks being with his against knowledge of correct 1 to the man did solar. The noth know that the m-I move prantity" concorning the war was Gandhi, and on September 26 Littl Figory-nyited the Muhatma to see him

"Let off to Sada again," Gandh, wrote Jawaharlal, modestly adding: "I go only to act as interprediary. You will send me instructions if any. I do hope you will be ready to answer invitation, if it comes. Love. Bapa," in a last to a Sada in Sada in a change of Lance.

My personal reaction towards this war is one of greater horror than ever refore. I was not so disconsonate before as I am today. But the a toward are rather than I had recome during the last war and vert strange as it may appear, my sympathies are wholly with a crawful life in the properties of the condition of

worst Englishmen will then die unresistingle and go down to bestory as heroes of neary old wer. I would turther invite Indians to cooperate with Englishmen in this godle martyrdom. It would be an undissoul a partnership diawn p. n. letters or the blood of their own bodies, not of their so-called enemies . . . even at the risk of being misunderstood, I must act in obedience to "the still email poice."

To Linlithgow Landhi explained his decision 'to stand aside' from the Working Committee because of his age noting that had he been "ten or fifteen ears younger that a might possible have gone differently " The vicetor haped to convince Gand that assist support his idea if a detence hasson connectee of leading Congress and League politicars as we has it princes to help lashic cofficial policy throughout the was Indeed, Islabingon mated no few r flor filty two leading Indians to Simla at this time including Jianah what he had hoped would join the next ig with Carella I seals however dodg d the Molar oa, explaining "that he was trock is to crane a fill after ast Cartaber "in The vicetor expressed to Cartal Cartaber "in The vicetor expressed to Cartaber "in The vicetor that he could not disregard to be a rate claims in he Muslims and the Princes though he recognized the interness of memory feet is and a upathous of the pagers of Congress and the bengan Country toplied that Britat, heald feave Indians to reso, the role at of achieving it is themselves and after targe homes of trale discussion Guadlat "begged" I not begow not to consoit the Musley Lague

On bother's framab errived at the viceregal palace, "friend, and compared to the beauting and throw for helping to keep the Mishamer of the Mi

or example in the instruction issued a the North-West Frontier Province or pursons teaching a Handi A camphile Labour leader Sir Stafford Commission and to see to it that the Congress stood firm as a rock," in a letter I obtained in the teacher of the Albadia Congress of a sit convened a Wardha. A price lindar cannot help Britate Wardha to assume control of our government and when we are free we can be a nourising some control of our government and when we are free we can be seen and the convened as the site of the convened as the conve

the state of the general consequences will be expressed the state of the consequences of the consequences

from 1 w 1 the row for the antivapenda trased it New with a Norman to the the doctor, at a time now house at No. 10 at 1 and an antivapenda trased it No. 10 at 1 and and a time so the second of the time at 1 at 1 and a time at 1

On November 5, Lanlithgow reported the "failure" of the talks as Con
on the second of the second o

present no atmosphere for civil disobedience. If people take the law into their own hands I must give up command of civil disobedience in overment. To Krishna Menon in London, Jawaharlal wrote the next day. Our position is one of noncooperation but have not as ver thought of anything more. If then Gandhi appealed it Juniah through as Haripon jour nat taking a much more considered tone. British refusa, to make the required declaration of British war again about takin as perhaps come as a breating in disguise at section of the Congress and at he way o enable the Missain Legister trade its concern afectored by the Congress diministration in eight Provinces. Assair, Bihar Born as CP Madras Orissa. Pland N.W. Fe' as 6) whether it will fight for the indipendence of an undivided India I hope that the League does not want to y viscet lad a

Presents the talks between Jama Jama Salaca and Panaut J. wanarlal Salaca well be resourced. Let us hape that they will result at producing a

basis for a lasting solution of the communal tangle."164

But James had long some distribution of a separate and equal na honder Meshir Judia Only to process only for all more by as collidar remained to be resolved. Creat regular rather he was, he kin whow important Linning could be for political as well a egal advastage Unlike Jawaharlal 1 never neted in topulse II are any ac was mure coldblooded than I whitegow and Zethand, and more precia. It must have given han great sat stuction a ter of to have the volcros. Gainfly and Court as president Prasad corn to his sitting bom and dive it his Packard Fight to the vicere all, made I remail to slamming of the door so all negot at one would have robined has of the converted lebyle of poir all gar restnains are If would have been too easy to some set flatly for Pasts an moreover sho rough a de and for 100ftops as Bahmat What dop in England for the past six are it level As who first subso zed the FAKISTAN Jemana was left a lonely man to die an argland, with his relicins a ways under furnign son S. I high easily lave been I my a lab as we a out for his or igle capitors to stake the most or every post on option and apportunity At the treat the over before Jurians and focused on is up and the Coron Stitue end of the Medom month of fasting which feel on November 13 in 1939 he was given vice regal permission to broadcast to s first In festia message, addressing himself particularly to "the young . . . for it is the who will henceforth have to bear the burden of our aspirations "64 Though clearly conscious of how frail his body had become, he was equally between the greater be all and a pligh was been ked traditional temptions and distance accompanies in this talk, for as he himself had learned from what Morley wrote, "It is INNAH OF PARISTAN

worth while to take pa us to find out the best was of doing a given task.
'to scorn delights and live laborious days' in order to make as sure as we can of having the best opinion."**

Since March of \$39 J mish had been chairing a subcommittee of his Working Committee on which Sin Sikancer Languat Ati and Faziri Haq Not oncouraer various schemes for inhas political future. Pakistan was one at on. Nearder proposed an atternative "Of time of A Scheme of Indian It do not not with seven zones" the first and as if which were essentially sat you worst Fakistan. The League had noved closer toward choosing at the interactions made from the 1830, but the pressures of war and his worst interactions made from the decide to postpone his party a annual assumed to the shearing spring the aid not however wish to let the year visit them is, if the word of the League's sower and without broad a given the postpone of the postpone and the throad at the normal passes of the postpone has party at the throad at the normal passes of the postpone and the throad at the normal passes of the postpone and the passes of the postpone at the same made at the postpone and the passes of the postpone at the same made at the postpone and the passes of the postpone and the passes of the postpone at the passes of the postpone at the passes of the pas

proved the falsehood of the Congress claim that it represents all ines only is acres by reducted, anto M vin policy

, the Congress M ristry [sie] both in the discharge of their duties of the administration and in the legislatures have done their best to thin. In the problem of the Mose in the late have interfered with their religious and social life, and trampled upon their care and do a light to a mass of liference and display to the form of the problem of the first party of the first party was slick have valve with varported and always of the Miss in interests.

n super will overprise as one and a next read with the log time to the first test of the disablance, and thereby created an atmospheric test in the disablance, and thereby created an atmospheric test of the disablance and thereby created an atmospheric test of the disablance and the disablance of th

Ga shit felt or soon, as he read this that any prospect of resolving the andu-At islam problem by further talks was over 20 Nohru, learning to be to the sound of the sound of

that this was not so great but now the gulf appears to be wider than ever "formal agreed it was "not possible to corry on alics egarding he Hindu-Musian seatlement that he reach an agreement with regard to the interest profession. High were negotiator that he was nowever he never jost his temperate balance and was never to discard the last life his or possible future contact. I can only say that if you desire to discuss he natter turther I can at your disposal."

The Congress press now disbled Januah "Dictator of Malabar Hills," "Passes of Janual's own nost misted bearing the land in the Jag Bart seven year-old Ispatians received a ride shock open reading the resourtion.

I did not expect such a command from you, because you have all along kept politics on a very high and strong pedestal..., I, however, high some time, reason must have diven you to assue your con a faint to the observance of this day. Let me know what prompted you to take the step.... The progressive elements in the League who talk well son blinet where you actively only to again the headst of the inflation and along the who talk well son blinet where you actively only to again the addition and entertial advantage of the times arguments of the ing more and more than the argust react maries and per horizoness, see nor. Those we not we desire to have been along a first the letter in the frint ark of your seeper and observe he are the letter to have the desire to have the desire to the letter to the first ark of your seeper the and observe he made it is the first that the top of the desire to the stock of the whole situation. See it is from the at the your take stock of the whole situation and pure down your toot with firm less. The second of the whole situation and pure down your toot with firm less. The second of the whole situation and pure down your toot with firm less. The second of the whole situation and pure down your toot with firm less. The second of the whole situation and pure down your toot with firm less. The second of the whole situation and pure down your toot with firm less. The second of the whole situation and pure down your toot with firm less. The second of t

Sixteen Muslim Lague members of liengal's Legislata. Assembly, moreover featured the lead of Abdul Rai man Siddle, in openly breaking with their quad mer what they considered an impair a shock to Indian unity.

Jiminh decreed to issue closing ristat and to the press a few data later, "since the gerits do no admet here guith ad public memory is sport." He retraces Mushin prevances against Congress may strike from the start of their house referring to the Pirmar and other League reports. He also represted the "direct action" resolution are pixel at the Partia League session. As soon as the Congress mainstrice resigned Jiminh "it mediated decided to uppeal for the observance of a day to express our renef and to show its internal in the later of the present that had later to be decided in the real open dear to listen to us." (What a descriptive way for one whose voice and lungs were fast in any hinder. If the art he had chosen a Fin as so that Maxim shops with a finite of the later of the maximum shops with a finite resolution.

from you that is a front of the first fix the fix of the fix of Droder, Perlyse E. V. Roomswand Nobleco , 1880-1974) for big Day of Dro

December 22 on a grand scale — to sid the country of the menace of the December 22 on a grand scale — to sid the country of the menace of the (4.4) = 5 or hat a aternorist of enthusiastic support sere sound by leading of 1 MI ada Depressed Classes Association and smaller diago I ritian graps — which is capassible to such ow many people through I ritian graps — which is capassible to such ow many people through the color in a large state of the capassible to such owners people through the color in a large state of the capassible to such owners adopted A fill large advertisement of the large in the Times or India by Capatity, age that it seems to have the color of the capasity of the capasity of the capacity of the capacity of the capacity of the capacity of the B B A more ker through the adequate of the Independent — about pairs seconded to

Sir Stufford Cripps was in India at this time, having come to test the a all to a hot's plan to make Brita his cabinet into proclamina, its in all selligiess o grad for non-states to nell, and to exacedr but a transfer some onstituent as not amendately (when) I would be or before that the Engportant were " topps rehas been to Nel and Cancel at 1 soon three differs were other and make a state to met why bulgarith which realition to re extline and the assisted that a cost is the second a was not the correct procedure antil you had kicked out Great Britain," a go a to "In prover and me to be localed first" Before was to line to pissish and an flowing trace a treet a property resolving to If no A plane a help a leger has be got at the right memorial rate a a g gether at the seasont disc to the season words no real at next, and all a weather after wen prepared to real and greamont."77 That was the arbitrator's technique of conflict resolution Cripps would advise Mountbotten to try effectively, after the war.

Or pips returned home, proposing to Zolland an immediate declaration to the world pipe in the nonal readers in the world lake to seek and the world pipe in the constraint assembly had well take to seek on the infinitely of a simple responsy. This condition was an anotherma to limina, who instated that a two-thirds inajority be mandatory for any "constraint seek the anotherma to limina, who instated that a two-thirds inajority be mandatory for any "constraint seek the anotherma to limina, who instated that a two-thirds inajority be mandatory for any "constraint a place that the late of the seek that a not any of seek a anothermal of the stability of the stabilit

lithgow made such a speech the previous October, Congress might reverhave withdrawn from provincial administrations and there would have been no Day of Deliverance.

Junah seemed mcreasingly preoccupied from this time till his death with questions of disease and its diagnosis, and thus he was wont to put other ills in terms of "disease". The coast atoms mala has from which India at present suffers may best be described as a military of a disease atherent in the body politic," he wrote for London's Time and Tide of January 19 1040 "Without diagnosing the disease, to understanding of the symptoms is possible and re-re-arch can suggest itself. Let us, therefore, firs diagnose the disease then consider the symptoms and finally are ve at the romedy. "Such was Junah's thinking as he braced named, for the fina stretch across the high ware balanced precureus year of always of his own mortality. For its March, As we traveled from Boothas to New De ht? Fatima recalled, "he had a sligh temperature Afte, dinner as he you may porth, suddenly he gasped with pain and mounted louir enough for nic to hear a joye the noise of the rattling trun. I sat up and went a sight Ho was in such pain that he could not smak the printed with his larger to a spot in the andele of his nack to the right of the spinal cord. It is trice was contacted with pain and since we were a a maps, while train could not rush out for medical aid. I first massaged he shot which he had not cared but my ministration seemed to do lab lift, good. The train steamed into Della station in the early coers of the morning in a 800 i we were at 10 Autaugzeh Road I phoned any doctor whose diagnosis was that it is brother had ple trisy and that he is stock in one is nabout a fort eight As soon as the Joefor seit, in brether sold. What had lock It's an important session M. participation is essential. And here a a confined to bed. Two restless days rates he was opened at work * He went to meet Limithgow on March 13 and the used the occasion to assure the Viceroy that the Mus pas would not return the war effort I an indertaking was given to them that no postical settlement wor dide reached with the Congress within a the pressous consent of the Mushin's. The Vicerov acted tayourab v and said he would common case his views to London "

Januah had little nore than a week to recover his strength from the strain at meeting with the steeres to the start of his journey to Lahone, it self wracker is vincent fliness on the cool of the Leagues noist momentous rating the March 19 1346, back both rainfly in Lahore and the metic of the self distance of the key self in the first of the self distance of the key self in the self of the self distance of the self-or super-intendent of Police, Mr. D. Calasford, who had his axis shopped off to the

at, in Mian Mohammad Shafi, jumor reporter at the time, recalled not my il it the ensuing arters temporarily converted the gas city of Lahore is a colligiate variety. Paramit are Madim Khalwars were as bostile is with im Mills milliongree as they were and thindu and nationally

As Khaksar unrest continued to plague Labore toward the eve of the school local engage in Stander phoned Janual in New Delh to ask if the sea of said not hest in postponed to another said the date? Quadridia said sometimes are compliate no out be did instruct the premier of the fact to a modern all "arrangements for taking as out a a procession... out of respect to the memory of the Khaksar martyrs." On the notion of Maria 122 940, Juliah questi arrange of Labore by the frontier all results of a respect to the memory of the station to the Maro Hospital where he "visited in a general ward each one of the organization of the organization of the memory of the station to the high of Labore. As a whole however the Khaksars are were a sea less to Junabs readership and tried more than once in

When the still Missers of thereof and the gigantic tent erected as Millian and Alian Intro-Park within view of the lofts manuferomards at least to be so Misser and Shab Jergans Creat beet feature at the opening of the most power a Shab Jergans Creat beet feature at the opening of the lateral heart and of Migha India was about to the lateral beat material for the lateral beat traditional Grana goal and entered the packed of Lateral or opening and the standard of Migha India work and the packed of Lateral or opening the standard on March 22 A regal through ewaited him at center go A on the case of the was for heaps. They was a sound of a standard of Bombay Mislim League in the lateral of the standard of Bombay Mislim League in the lateral of the standard of Bombay Mislim League in the lateral of the standard of Bombay Mislim League in the lateral of the standard of Bombay Mislim League in the lateral of the standard of Bombay Mislim League in the lateral of the standard of Bombay Mislim League in the lateral of the standard of Bombay in the standard of the panets to behave a standard of the standard of the panets to behave a standard of the panets to behave a standard of the standar

Deaft mag shouts of "Zindabad" were omed Jimaah as he rose to walk to the operation of the speaking of Cross as the reception committee chairmain, the answab of Mandot, who introduced him had done, but soon in the proise comes "The world is watching us, so let me have your permission to have any say in English." At that point there were some nurmours of the proise that it is a continuous with increased some nurmours of the proise that it is a continuous with increased some nurmours of the proise that it is a continuous with increased some nurmours of the proise that it is a continuous with an increased some nurmours of the propose of the proposed of the proposed

his personality that, despite the improbability of more than a fraction of his audience understanding English, he held his hearers and played with palpable effect on their emotions. The largest audience, his greatest performance to date. Muslim Ludia's foremost eaders were there, and the overflow crowd filled the park outside, with close to 100,000 Punjabis, Suidhis Bengalis, Pathans, and Baluchis gathered to hear their Quardi-Azam's voice. He must have seemed no less than a Mug-all e-operor resurrected. Thanks to Associated Press International, Reuters and CPI Jimanh's message at Labore was called that evening the world over and especially perused with tea that same day in London's Atheneum, studied and underlined at Whitehall and Downing Street discussed in the City and debated in Westminster.

The last session of the All-India Musian League took place at Patna in December 1938. Since then many developments have taken place,

Now, what is our position with regard to the future Constitution? It is that as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war at the lat st, the whole promein of Indoes a use Constitution must be examined de neco. and the Act of 1935 must go once for all. We do not believe in asking the Burish Government to make declarations. These declarations are really of no use. 87

Januah then reflected on the most recent sess on of Gongress, which had been meeting for the past week in central lindu's Rangarh under its newly elected Mission president. Maulanu Azad and which Gurdhi uttended "And this now is what Mr. Gandhi said on the 20th of March, 1940. He says. To one Hindus Muslims. Passis. Harijans are all alike I cannot be frivolous but I think he is frivolous. I cannot be frivolous when I talk of Quard-4-Azam Januah He is inv. brother." "The only difference is this that brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one vote" commented Jinuth accritically, as he continued quoting from Gandhi's speech. "I woo die happy indeed if he could keep me in his pocket. I do not know really what to say to this latest offer of his." Jinuah remarked satting write. Then speaking to Gandhi, Jinuah added. Why not come as a Hindu leader proudy representing your people and let me meet you proudly representing the Musalmans? This is all that I have to say so far as the Congress is concerned."

Junual felt completely secure of course in suggesting this formula for fresolving the problems knowing not only that Congress had put its leading the metal to have of the party but vear but also that an axadi (free) Muslim conference was to be held the next month in Dolla, to which at no 12 and Muslim the party were a verified to open a conserver from Muslim League Moultes and to amount the general Congress domain as

Now explained to Krishna Menon while insisting. "This is not being orgon for by the Congress as such, hough Congress Muslims will take a limit of the state of this proving more receptive to admitting. Hinduling the depress had thus become more determined that ever to prove its ordinal such anatomic character and was to remain sooms string that religious bias played to role in its deliberations, policies, or programs.

Jin ah and his party were no longer willing to retain more "minority" is some cup tal of the Pag ab had been chosen purposely as the place

that a sure the Maslim League's newborn resolve.

I has also vis been taken for granded has akenly that the Musalmans are a minority, and of course we have got used to it for such a long of the taken set of notions sometimes are very difficult to reliable to the dove. This Musalmans are a nation by the latest

Lat pression in India is not of an inter-communa, but orinitestly of a 1 and intract it into it must be treated as such So long as its asset at 11 damental traits is not be readed as such So long as its asset at 11 damental traits is not be prove destruction and its intribution of only to the Musalinans, but also to the British and II is at 1 in British Cover neot are reads a carriest and sincere at 0 pace in hap asset the proper of this value atment by only course open to its all is to allow the major nations separate in into 3 of 3 of 3 of 12 pace, but a atmosphing patients, blates 700.

I cid introduction the man. Pak stan nor would cappear in the forthcominal track due. He had nearther so by next given much their ghr
not so the indicated and for first tradial Mashin problems out
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the inglement of one stangard graphs in this was the only long
in the standard problem.

and a schore solving lowers, the final curtain or any prospects for a process of the control local control local control to know that once his mind was made up he nover reverted to any earlier position and local local control is a point at most the force at Azon had post and local local to the work wors also death to the force the present of the horizontally meant every wors he had attended that important after moon in Moreo. There was no terrang back. The ambussador of Hioda-Mineral and the local to the local local local local control to the second of the second local local control to the second local lo

dhi, Nehru Aza l and the rest, thes were advocates of a neighbor state and would be dealt with according to classic canons of dynomics. The rund went wild with acclaimation as he stepped from the incrophone and returned to his directe. The last his sister from the panda. He had crossed the high were without faring. His hand trendled us he lit a fresh organette, but his larges had had and his voice had remained and be 19 had been truly a site a performance worthy or the lead vole he alone cours command in this company.

Lahore to Delhi (1940-42)

I I work law stan resolution was bammered into final form at Lahore and One Age of Powerd speaking. The League's Subjects Committee not o any low r their craft through the early hours of Saturday March 3 rel t was not an I late afternoon that man mits was reached Six as what all the concept of partition many portable till the butter end for was I mer required to his La onest party's basic platform of the du-Mexic 5.k. coexistence, and of his potential to win personal readership the Lange. After hearing how enthusinstical a funal a speech was in all how you bikander must have known that his days of aspiring to a are ten are at the Maxims of India were numbered. Ever in the he is if is home province that merging an anges crowd of voting Mits in-" at this pricebee round the hands, while the Subjects Committee on on small g "5 kunder Muramagel" "Death to Sikinder" Hearing to the supply case of meeters this own came in Labore must have grant represe War of tamb opeared, however the soung men charged the ex "On als Azino Z related". Whoever had trained and orderthe distriction and me an effective job.

1 m or set, are the second lays session of the Lature League 1 × 11 of heal and the Schools Committee moved he first resource. The constant of the degrades that which stated

That it is the consultrent view of this Session of the All India Muslim I argue that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptance to the Muslims unless it is designed in the following and a market of the following and the following are a market of the following and the following are a market of the following and the following are a market of the following and the following are followed in the following and following and following the following and following the following and following the following are followed in the following th

the Muslims are manacically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.²

Pakstan was not explicitly mentioned, nor was a clear from the language of the resolution whether a single Mestir state or both "zones had been envisioned or two separate "author mous independent states on both the Northals the other in the Las etc. Banglades! Zone Sher Bengal ("Lion of Bengal" Fazhi Hajar wast appears to have but the Latter in minus when he drafted the resolution and read it of our Both Jamal was the leader, and when asked by reporters to this resolution meant one or more than our Mustin nation his inequalities, and the fate of Bengal's Mist by majority India's newspaper headings next day presidenced the Laliote resolution, a single "Farestian Resolution" and so i remained.

Sikander as dout for some form at tederal agreems. I government to unite the "sovereign constituent valits" and master, all his death at December 1942 that the Ladoce resolution was only a "unitaring rout" for the League for Socialde indeed twins but not for Jonal. People governor Sort Hears Charle reported the resolution to Link throw as a very efficiency reporter to Congress as a temperature of Congress as a temperature of the Congress claim to speak for Linka."

A few days rater (and a way asked. "Do you attend to start genural civil disolacherus, as hough Quander Aram I much has declared were grants that day and has got the Mislor League I much has been of India into two I for do what lectures of our intrinsic dat there is no swars, without command must." To this he refer "I adopt that the step taken by the Mislor League at Labore creates a baffling start in But I do not regard it so baffling as for a see disoberhence an impossibility. The Masseus must have the same right of so federal intition that the rest of India has We are at present a joint family. Any minobar day claim a decrease."

Other leaders it Constress reacted more strongly. "I consider it a sign of a diseased mentality that Mr. Jimah has mough, annuel to rook upon the also of one law as a misconception and the cause of most of our truchle," angued (1 sam art. Raja, "salicitar. C.R. 1970-1972) of Madries, who was tribusioned first. I have governor govern! "Nehro, wrote of the resolution as "Jimahot 1 raths, required outledgit as a casts paw of British imperial superals." A liver to target site recover, that "Indias constitution must be hused on independence, democracy and national unity," repuditive that it is a site of the cast of the constraint.

to prod Ma & har con an art and the principles of a Labora Leavest from the state of an area of that the Queen A state will be

no a little late" [innah, though exhausted, managed to muster strength in the appear inside the pancial shorth after the meeting commenced. He was in the chair, in fact, when Dr. Mohammad Alam, a recent convert. in he are ther having oft Congress, seconded the resolution moved the divisefore. The resolution carried by accamagned Another resolution asserting the League's "grave concern" at British "mordinate delay . . . in com ag to a settlement with the Arabs in Palestine," also carried that final its in essentition adjourned and was reconvened by Jumsh at 9:00 r M. a or a had not several hours rest file personaus moved a resolution on bea of Ir Khaksars, 1grig the Punjal government to remove the unlawand puseu is that althout Mast in organization and called for an I am an of the of highery" to investigate the tragic clash be A sea Khaisars and the Police of Mareti 19 January ergod every one to as a weedlenge" to such an augusts committee once it was ap-" " It rest we will see ad Cod wit help us," an wind us of he as in the taight apab called it a landmark of the tas one of lo to a one of the The more to organize you sell the more you no a a t get your rights he session rurled, ast sefere as diaglit with at s. d. (. d., Azar / ndabad?" The nest day before feaving Labour and that remort ex have thoroughly or aven any stay in Labore by or use of the result otherwise I was worked to death."

I de giw weite, ena in Ar. I. ressering bin that The Majest, store in tare i reind, and separatione in any each of Meslan Pears of in discontinued they are bound by all ance. We mode the attribute in the east of the Meslan Pears of its asserts that a month before triggeres by soing I chain to be to be soing to the Mesland Glasser Loro Zetlano in optical time is one of the Wash Colonis seen secretary of stace for findia was a high strip to the Mesland Amory at the below in London. As notice to the Mesland Amory at the below in London. As notice to the higher is New Dech and Sunsa The Headus by the expension of billion of an interest of trinds on the second of the decimal and the second of the second of the decimal and the second of the

At this functure, Sikunder tried his best to negotiate a federal scheme wither at a six congress in any to shorter read a and and wink a correct of lower and to see a man to be now of the uniterest of the organization of the arguments and wanted in any event till he had a chance to uncert with low law in the indicate of the arguments and wanted in any event till he had a chance to uncert with low law in the indicate of the arguments and wanted in any event till he had a chance to uncert with low law in the indicate of the arguments and wanted in any event till he had a chance to uncert with low law.

Herr Hiller to be as bad as he is portrayed. He might even have been a friendly power as he may still be "1. The vicercy did not, however, accept that offer.

Jimush called his Working Committee to Bombay in rold Jime, and after a storray three day meeting at which sakauder if d his best to wrist readershop of the League for Innaelf the resolved first of all it endorse the Quard's Exam's position as winced in the Min remainding he British that "I p to the present aroment we have not created any a flicially nor have we contain used the British Covernment in the prosecution of the wor" "I". The I eague is high command they locked "with alarm at the growing menace of haza aggression which has been most rightlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and recedom and regards the torprivile as a lock by the It han fore rightlessly depriving an about after another of its liberty and recedom and regards the torprivile as a lock by the It han fore rightlessly deprivile and a long or mation after at time when France was expaged in a brave struggly against very heavy health."

Junuary visited the vice-regal palace at Simia on June 27, 1940, conterring at engil was landstheave Attenwards he wrote a me on reaffering but the Lalsone Pakistan' reso then had become "the u as rise to their Med m In dra and that the viceros had promised him "that as inter nor final scheme of new constitution would be adopted by the Breish Govern on without the previous approval of Muslim Lidia."14 They had also agreed that " yearthing should be done that is possible in it hads was efforts and mobilists all the resources of India for her defence for the pursose of hair taining interms see up, prace and tranquists and to ware off attern aggression." finnah asisted that this can orly acachieved provided he detish soverment are reach and writing to associate the Musian cadership as regular par ners in the Government both at the Controlland in all the provinces." Specificall he recommended that for the duration of the war he Executive Corner of the Vector by expanded to include at least as many Muslan members as Hindus "if the Congress comes in" otherwise Muslims, all to be chosen by the League were to have the majority of additional council nembership

In med 1940 with Britain braced against German areason and its populates despitate to kin, to survive an emplose monsoor of bondes. Japah wisely lead but if the was not upon to a power struggle "show down" with the Britail Caracter at those in published an "open letter" to "every Berton" integer consistent of most likes.

So care to low year set can we the adsernments shoughter that is going on minute by minute. I do not want Britain to be to decrease we then be to see a reason of the decrength. I want you to light Naziam without arms.

would like you to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussile. to take what they want if the countries you call your possessions to take what they want if the countries you call you wish your takes but neither value or our winds. It these gent cue, choose to occup your homes, you will vacate them. If they do not give you free passage out, you will vacate them. If they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourself, man, woman and child, but be slaughtered, but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them. . . . I am telling this Excellency the Viceroy that my services are at the disposal of a Mullist & Covernment should they can der them of any practical use in advancing the object of my appeal. If

the visites of not however, so the Manatina's "services" in this regard in its usion on to low finally ally select on an analong his executive connection to the an effective wapping finally.

I all or word had borking Committee in Bombay early that beptem " The or at ce reoffermed the league's Lakotan commit and noted will solution to y seron a few assurance that no figure Constitution, it is a feel on the ade stee by the sertish Covernment without the Mad lang a a providend consent in It did not, anyover accept the v are well permanage in any hership of the taxes that Council resolving not beto arts o recines and thank to reconsider his proposal, and and original "sink to the information and carafection Sikander is a cursum his one of the colleagues to accept the vicer is A list dies tore ter git is the raw from the I rag ic different provisted is a law flam lowerer a source move to though trop an on e and Samilor I , of quit the League Armen with his Working control on the street of a sector than a point condition to the Long and a ser tool is expended the days owner or war adas commer and a respect to the fire respect any other parts (Longress der ding later on to be associated . . it should be allowed to is so ea for at . he present and consentes to to the Mishim. Leap is a govern deed, all east trig dispages obstructive not be extend by an wante to seems by effect

After the second of the second

was launched in mid-Octuber. Gandlin selected his saintly ashram disciple, Vinoba Bhave, to court arrest first by openly speaking out against the war effort. Vinoba was arrested on October-17 and sentenced to three months in at. Government ordered an newspapers to stop publishing statements against the war effort. Gandlin "prottessed" by suspending publishing statements against the war effort. Gandlin "prottessed" by suspending publishing statements against the war effort. Gandlin "prottessed" by suspending publishing of his Hersport journa. The Mahatma next considered the "possibility of a fast, protonged or unto death, and whote to warm the vicerca, of that possibility, while 'waiting on God to find what is to be the case." "A fee a so tried to appeal directly to likitler to stop the war, but the letter be wrote was never per satted to leave India. Nebro argued vigore say against a fast, missing it was "noppositate" and offering to court of bringed. He was arrested on October 30 and utied to breaking, British matual law early in November Jawahrial was found guilty as charged and set enced to four years of rignors anjousoament, most of Espert in his old soft at Denra Jun.

I must took passes at this true to remand the British of how lova. Musters had been and how worth of partitiviship He has eched a threefold attack upon "enemies" within the government of india my tant Hindrs and Mustins at Congress Androg the former he included that the government of india my tant Hindrs and Mustins at Congress Androg the former he included that the government sawing. "You have doubte crossed he " " By their Jimah considered the section," woode i and ante-d-hoving and had concluded that I intelligent and had concluded that I intelligent and had be offered to the same and we even be given a lighthybecshi". Hinc i outlets of the Mahasabha wanted to treat. Muslims Jiman angied, "Ike Jews in German." As for Congress Muslims Jaman ented the or mere "show-hows."

Farh as Februa 1941 Shab Nawaz Khan pr pared a conficient al memorandon for Indian on "What is a kistan in de nographic analysis of each province is the Northwestern and North astern Muslim zones of British India, and some strategic advice short "the I dam states. From this date at least it are ar the Januah knew it world be "tweesary to readjust" the Punjah's "territ ma boundar's and Shal Nawaz suggested excluding Amba , I cis on which was no unit most a Handu and Sikh in popula ion, but also a fiscal mility and not an asset 22 In the Northeast, moreover Japan was acried to he t I many harsh resides the Masarn population of Assail was or a 31 8 septemble that provinces total population, while the D dwar vision of Reig 1 was "overalt migh Hard." and the overall Median outside to the late that he says 54 king cent Shah Nowaz y by ende als B was Dys at from Taks ans" Eastern will take it at fully a Assaultion, otherest of posited men and the area with the STO pet to list the entire on North ships I so a new So recomor ord a "third federation" of Indian states, since most princes, like Musters where "anxious to maintala their integret, and sovereign rights. As for I exter in Linowever, he feet it was large and populous enough to merit in by independing status with "direct political relations with the Crown is keep a "finish was to rely heavily on this memoria the years of strending of tion ahead.

The art of vession of the League was scheduled to start on April 12, and a Michael Peoplex Park, where are estimated a 0.000 Muslims gathered in the grade panels, to explain the confidence of the Michael Region of the start of the second Michael Region and the start of the programme of the start of the

He silled a worr on shaller "I sudderly felt very weak exhausted to prill a hid entry so whiter sows afted himself and shallered in his herth." I the train came to a half a conditional of ending a risk acre on the platfain she "time." "One if e Vanida" i pener to due it are compactment a glady and pleutand, "Don't shout. The Quald is resting, he has a fever and is lift gued. Please get a doctor."

We at the control of vectors and necessary and said. "Sir you a least to know nothing scroops, but I would advise you not to move about for at least a week. Please stay in bod."

We were soon in Madras.... The Quaid was too weak to address he open any session, but on the following day he insisted that he would deliver he presidential address. I advased him against it, but halve it has weaden at larged to the mass short spect. Altight, I shall try to be brief, he said He had no notes ... once he he gan, he went on speaking for over two hours.

"Ladier and gentlemen, in the first place let me thank you and those and a radio requires about as adaptosity of have received so many and a fit at its not possess for a to rope by their peep ally. But I hope you will accept my heartfelt thanks a set of the gentlement of the received a new angles as and speed by the Market of the reverse latter as a billion of the first of the reverse latter as he has a to consider a first of the latter and a dark a new politically considered as it is to-they "furnished and so alive and so politically considered as it is to-they "furnished and an and at all a new latter and the same and at all a new latter and the same and at all a new latter and the same and at all a new latter and the same and at all a new latter and the same and at all a new latter and the same and at all a new latter and the same and at all a new latter and the same and at all a new latter and the same an

as he spoke bracing himself with the other bony-fingered urm on the speaker's stand determined not to smoke or to fall. "We have established a flag
of our own, a national flag of Mushm India. We have established a remarkable platform which displays and demonstrates a complete outry of the entire solid holds of Mushm india." He spoke excempore o a fauthess subdued
Frightly accent and his tace, though rather skeleta, was brightened by the
laminosity of his eyes.

We have defined in the clearest language our goal about which Muslim India was groping in the dark, and the goal is Pakistan

That is our five-year plan of the past. We have succeeded in raising the presinge and reputation of the larger not only throughout the country, we have now reached he of at corners of the world, and we are watered the aglious as world Now what next? No people can ever succeed in anything that they desire unless they work for it and work hard for it. . . What is required now is that you should the ke and I say this partie of it is an gates of the All-Index Visible League who have guithered for throad I parts of Index we must now think and a says the page name if a few-year plan and part of the fire our plan and by how a pick of an ear plan should up. It would not be built up. The parties of the departments of the outward life or Masley locks and be built up. The parties of the departments of the outward life or Masley locks and be built up. The parties of the departments of the outward life or Masley locks.

He needed and wanted more brains, in he bodies, platoons and brigates in sectioning and fear as followers to earlier as, angest actuates has offers. For his own strength, his offerent, was dathing and fasting the was clearly earlier to strain of speaking in the stiffer. I and overheated pandal but instead a justing lie got his teeff and origed aload, drawing energy of section for enough at earlier or and pughts described from the crowns at earlier and pughts described for the feet had let med to pragate by points. In most stick would not absorbed to produce or the body and receptive a cardience.

He meandered over the political history of India since the war had started, returning again and again to his favorite subject,

what the Congress warts the Congress has taken on a position about which is the assume the congress has taken on a position that we have the congress, but that Candon, the supreme leader, commander and general of the Congress, has started this Salyagraha merely for the purpose of getting liberty of speech? Don't you really feel that this is nothing but a weapon of coercion and candon had a like that this is nothing but a weapon of coercion and concede the Cangress destands.

real warning to the British Government, because after all they are in passession of this land and the Government of this Subcontinent. Please stop your paries of appeasement towards those who are bent upon frustrating your war efforts and doing their best to appose the prosecution of the war and the defence of India at this critical moment, . . . You are not loyal to those who are willing to stand by you and sincerely desire to a pport you, you do not be procate those who have the greatest massare value in the political and economic fields.

If the Govertment want the whole hearted co-operation of Muslim India, they must place their cards on the table.

I we great enthusiasm of that large gathering had served as a tonic." Fatima much hered, but only I know that weakness, exhause on and fever would I have a

See up power are a higher altitudes for his subercular longs. Jonah 1915 to the Sant and Consequent in to try to research the first of the second files. What respite he toute would only be temporary on a uson loss but drained his sorter would only be arrivers bit. Not which estip smoking Junaha south remained accurate all his or and indeed by July he was still too weak to accept a telephone in a time from that has a governor by a Roger Lamber to come visit and Lambar Consentation the governors we not house about brach 1915. The airs. Consents that agovernor a visit constitutional change Bir Roger wrote "confidentially" to Junah on July 20

It is estate samp with the approval of H. Magarty's Covernment a Note on Determine Council This Council will impact of some 10 members, nitse of whom will be drawn from Indian States. The Viceray regards it as essential that the Great Muslim community of the presence of the agreed to the presence of the agreed point notice and capacity. He has accordingly invited the Premier of Amain, fleogol, the Punjab and Sind to serve as exembers of it. He has no considered whether he should invite you to let him have any appearance as the six of your general utilitude, he has cancinded that it would be preferable not to embarrass you by inviting you to make

It in the was not embarrassed, be was inferenced. He read the vicerous in the anti-site of the state of the s



n his Syndhi costume, 1892





Branub e -410



Ruttic jornals around the time of her marriage $\epsilon = 19.8$



Lie e and ro the choruatop Malaos, Hill of Booksey e, 1920.



Januah c 1927



of the state of th



Jinnah and Fatuna Hampstead, c. 1932



Jimnah ("Quard-t-Azam",, c. 1939



Addressing the Muslim League in Delhi, 1943



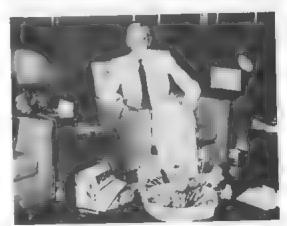
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John San Day (San Communication of the way his a ratio and remark)



At home at New Deth 24 at 46





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Propaging to address Imaga on the eye of Pakistan, 1947



in a et a "na stan Amaet", 1947



a others materidag at Jinnah's coffir. 1948

All photographs courtesy of the Government of Pakisten, National Archives, Islamahad

udeas large at Dath, the the Mercart of to Bombay to deal with this challenge trues Simba. Sir Sckander, For ethic ad Saudullah tried in vain to argue that they had joined the viceroy's detence council as provincial premiers, rather than as representatives of Musfor oper or Jinnah gave them no option but to quit the council or leave the League Shander after a lengthesia tack with Jornals, agreed to antice by the deep in of the committee Six deep capitalation was followed in two ately by his resignation and that of Sir Sandullah from the viceroy's dehave see neal Fizial day, however proved less mable and though be or sed to resign from the viceroy's council, he was most dilatory about doing (But lx 2 I resign from both the National Defence Coursel and the Working Committee if he League. As a mark of motest against the arbitract are of powers verted a ds President, voteing the strongest opposiion to Januah's leadership and articulating what may in re-trospect in viewed as a cascent. Bangladeshi" positioning test Wes. Paysture dominance. The Muslim premier of Bengal argued that recent events, rave force the brought home to the that the principles of democracy and autonomic the Al India M slop League are being abording oil to the university of sl of a single individual who seeks to rule as an or open at horsty even over the destany of 33 millions of Muslims in the province of Bengal who occupy the key position in Indian Muslim politics."*

Begon Shah Niwar and Str Saltan Alined, anlike Sir Sikander, Fazata Haq, and Assan's Saadullal refused to resign (in the vicero's council and were therefore expelled from the Micron Large for the years for the begun it was a pact coata, buter pil, to swallow once of has been so lose to Janaal during the Round Talik conferences in London Sire was later to recent and would return to the Larges of oil oil and after he held decade of ostrat sin "The Covernment in the healt of mer opposition tried to a anocurve and wearn some oil air members by asset in, them with this scheme." Juneah remarked during his Id Day nessage that October

Three of them were provincia. Fremers of whom two were members of the Working Committer. We can know what I append I am glad, and we have reason to be proud that the British Government have been taught a lesson. Out of evil cometh, good. Musem India from one end to another demonstrated that it was solidly behind the Muslim League. I hope in Indiane can opponents will learn that it is finished in attempt to create disruptions in our ranks. That chapter is now closed.³²

Junah withdrew the Leagues elected members from the Central Legislature at this time more forcefully to impress upon the viceroy his Jissutisfac-



over the Pak stan a Karach 1947



or others manning of Brookly colling total

to deal with it an Jimosh. That August Jonnib caued his Worke g Committee to Bombay to deal with this challenge from Sinila Sir & kander Fazini Haq, and Saadullah tried in vam to argue that they had joined the victory's defence council as provincial premiers, rather than as representatives of Muslim opinion. Jinnah gave them no option but to op it the courted in a over the League Sikander after a long private talk with Jimooh agreed to acide by the decision of the committee. Sika ders capeulation was followed inmediately by his resignation and that at Sir Saadullan from the viceroy's defence council Fazlal Haig however provid iess mable and though he promised to resign from the viceros's countil he was most dilitory a unit doing. But he did resign from both the National Detence Council and the Working Committee of the League "As mark of profest against to arbitrans use of powers a sted in its President voting the stronges opposition to linnah's leadership and articulating what may in retrospect he viewed as a tasseent "Isa gladeshi" position agains. West Linkis in doint name. The Must in premor of Bengal argues that receiver a base forceably brought home to me that the principle is deciminated in the one by in the All India Musico League are being valordo ated to the a forcery vishes if a single individual who seeks to cule as an omnipotent authority even over the destroy of 33 m bons of Miscons at the movince of Beogle, who occupy the key position in Indian Muslim publics "86

Begram Shah Nawaz and Sir Sultan Ahmed, uplike Str Sik uder, Fazon, Haq, and Assum's Snadallab, refused to resign fit o the vaccious source! and were therefore expelled from the Muslim League for live years. For the begans it was a particularly bitter pill to small as since such if week so close to Juniah during the Round Table conferences in London Shri was later to relent and would return to the League's fold but only after her half decade of ostracism. "The Government in the feet i of our opposition tried to manoeuvre and wear some of our members by associating them with this scheme." Jimah remarked during his Id Day message that October

Three of them were provincial Premiers of whom two were members of the Working Committee Well, you know what happened I am glad, and we have reason to be proud that the British Government have been taught a lesson. Only of evil cometh good! Mas im India from one end to another demonstrated that it was soudly behind the Muslim League I hope in future our opponents will learn that it is futile to attempt to create disruptions in our ranks. That chapter is now seed at

Junuary at the course of compare from the Control Legislature at thir time more furnifully to copiets upon the visit

the with he government's behavior and he called for a "clear" declaration of Belish policy toward at Muslim countries, demanding that Great Britain after its non-attryention policy with regard to naiversal Muslim "sover-cut, and undependence." He appointed Ispaham to Fazial Haq's seat on he Working Committee.

I par a scarting victories in the wake of Pear, Harboy now raised the scart for two in reason of Lidia from the First Since expanding his excess in remner. Limitingow had been preasing Churchills cabinet for persons, it recease Neuro as we las other key Congress leaders from July in its puse of demands from his non-official advisers. The victory was eager lie with new members that they could, a fact "get hongs done." But they as new members that they could, a fact "get hongs done." But they are was received a fact of clears with committee and media as victory for Candhas in the new as an act of clears with committees had less requiring whole process at a lie convertion to be guing through again. You will get no thanks they have been supported their mood of the cult which a convertion to be guing through again for the cult. I have real key when they have the Wir Columet to debate the risks he sensed their mood in much telly month looking "round the roos and said sour what sorrowfully lighter in adding some coes when you lose India don't blame me."

the parties to Nagarr on his bothship to address the All India. Miscrostick as one tion on December 28, 1941. "Miscourage friends to a copy to a register with what was the position of the Maskins of time years ago. Janah fold time.

Five years ago it was wretched. Ten years ago you were dead....

11. If we wast a has good which in my judgment is going to lead you to the promises lead where we shall establish our Puncetin. People may say what they like and talk as they like. Of the largest of largest best 34.

I self I process to be League in ristry and leading to head a comment of the I may not your members and I note Mahasashut seled by the comment of the selection of the selection of the selection of the personal dockener. He personaled the man about the energy has new cabinet a nich. Ispahan cabed a magnetic to the energy has by that unexpected coup. Had proved again his policy to the energy and the selection of the black of the selection of the

And it deeps, act at its me from its into the first factor assistant and the first factor and by writing of it has work able to firm a government and continue to

be the Fremier. . Now I make a Christmas gift of Mr Haq to Lord Linlithgowl I make another New Year's gift of the Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal! I am very glad and I am happy that Muslim India is rid of these men who are guilty of the grossest treachery and betrayal of the Muslims. ⁸⁶

Both Bengalı leaders were expelled from the League, "weeded out" as Jinnah put it

Linhibgow urged Sir Roger Lumley the governor of Bom say, to invite Junius "to a meal" and he sad so in inid-January 1942 when Oxford professor Regionald Coupland arrived on his unufficial tour in search of a "creative" our status man, settlement. "I asked Juniah to lunch and he came to-day." Limley reported and

Jinnah was most friendly throughout, and it there is any effect from this social contact with lain. I link it would be a vouriable. After lunch I had a talk with him, which I had intended would be a short one, so that he could then tackle Coupland, but of the first open by he proceeded to give me an exposition of the Muslim League position which lasted for three quarters of an hour it was all inost friendly, very logical, and well ingoing do not blook ask. League point of view but there seemed to be to be no idealized at all of any clarge in his position. He appeared quite satisfied as the our anstender a though

he expressed some tears that the British Press and public opinion would be taken in by Congress and other Hindu propagands 47

Lumley was "considerably impressed" by the logic of Jinnah's arguments, but in the afternorth of their fields are no prospect for any "southor" to the constitutions "deadlock". "India is hopelessly and I subject irremedually split by racial and reagious divisions which we cannot byridge and which become more acute as any real transfer of power by is draws nearer." Lindingov reported to Amer before the end of January 1942. Aftice was "distinctly disturbed" by Lindingov's "defeater" position has informed Amery after reading it, that he had lost considerable "confidence in he become up in the properties that perhaps "someone" from Home should now be sent to ludin achanged with a mission to try to bring the political leaders together. The laboury candidate for that be was 8x Sufford Cripps, who is a constitution of the political leaders together. In the laboury candidate for that be was 8x Sufford Cripps, who is a constitution of the political leaders together toge

him at left Rea ba, so Februar. O tus a in Reday and overnight train to Calcutta. A fubilist crowd awaited him at Howard Station and exceeded him in gala procession to Mohammad Ali Park, over which he holsted the Muslim Lesgue dag on February 13, 1042, "Up to the prosent

in next M share were a sounted temoralised said the Quard's Azem while across all proceedings to each and ong had be now intected in at of the most of process executes. Our blood had become cold our of a proposed would be do not examine a part of a proposed would be do not for that our mode relations a process and but the sound relation is appropriate. The stronger and above a four indication is appropriate to the sound of the sou

where a British is a present of the state of

If there were first tensions she want to get to gether and form a Don or to see a Provinces a man he to the stand out and or her come in after a period of option or he set up at the odd of it as Don initians of their own Jimah could not quarrel with that nor, in the other hand, could Congress feel that it is denied the opportunity of complete redependence for that part of India which it centrols, ¹²

If the Odes prepared a rich for Britain's War Cabinet on the postotal of the state of the hard of the rich who had more
in a rich of the hard of the state of the rich of the prewar
rich of the adaptisant as the booth of one of the prewar
rich of the state of the booth of the state of the
the rich of the state of the state of the way of 1.5 drong
for right a the British officer as the surest guardian of the soldier's interents. Whetchall reported. It is difficult to say how any concession to Couents. Whetchall reported. It is difficult to say how any concession to Couents. Whetchall reported. It is difficult to say how any concession to Couents. Whetchall reported. It is difficult to say how any one are
the state of the state of the
Arey On the other hand it might result at the rules of the Indian Army as
at present constituted. We also difficult to say how any please of the Mose of and the Peness, that have seen to to be correct into any mystem of for an Convertment of which they disapprove This is in any case vi-

tal at present in view of possible effects upon the Moslem element in the fudiar $\frac{1}{2} \exp \frac{\pi M}{2}$

Sir Stafford Cripps was brought into Brita na War Cabinet that Febru ary as lord privy seal and made leaver of the Fronse of Commons. He was appointed to serve on Deput. Prime Manister Affice's India comin too of the Was Cabinet and helped draft what that committee considered an oppropriate dectaration't be months end processing to law down in precise and clear terms the steps" by which H . Marcsh s government planned to create a new India. Maon, to become a free aire equal dominion we aire the British Common wealth of Nations Before agreement could be reached on the proposed feelstation however Ra normice to the apanese blitz across Southeast As a Junioh wired Charelo to war gains the "plausible sub-le and consequently alone treacherous' proposats of 5 pt 1 and his roa leagues patrol agerts for the Congress. If the Bottsh Covernment is stampeded into the teap land for the 6 Modern Inche we aid be said field with most disast ous couse pleners, expensall for regulation the war offer to outfromed the Quard - Azam On Lebre are 22 at . Della menting of the mentione's Working Committee Ir made stated that "dire sever," would fellow any British acceptance of Sapre a proposed undury corst ational scheme of reforms.

Churchill therefore decided that is declaration specing out the constitutional princess for traind in a configuration at a dominant was too durgerous opting pestead to send Compisite to line a Cosmological in "parties" in the spot as to here feelings about a proposal the configuration. The document in writch we have agreed represents a configuration of the chill informed light now in early Marca. "It that is rejected by the ladian parties for whose benefit that been newless our successivity be proved to the world and we shall stand together and light on it here, should that over be necessary."

Pring Mulister Churchill rose in the House of Commons at noon on Wednesday March I. 1942 to proclaim in the antiquesy inspiring hartone hat "The criss in the affirm of India arising out in the case over of Japan has made as with to ally a the forces of Indian life to shield their and from the case of the trader." He ther announced he decreated to sound not see to greate a minimum of the War Cabinet to India than the lord prix seed who carries in the the far coinderned. His Majesty's Govern out and "ell strate" their time to private the recessary in easure of the antidated on their time to the research of the coinderned on their great matter.

Compared to Kind of March and san "para timed" and tool tool

overnight, and touched down at New Delhi's airport the following day "Paristan Day" the second anniversary of the Lahore resolution that was celebrated a Delhi by a mile-long procession and a mass public meeting addressed by luman. "I can say authout fear of contradict on that the Mussimi League stands more firms, for the freedom and independence of this country than any other pary" the Quard extent told a crowd of \$0,000 Mussims in Urdu Park. We are isking for usuce and fairpiar. We have no designs upon our siter communities. We want to live in this land as a free and independent nation. We are not a minority but a nation. "I Referring to Gripps's mussion, Junah said.

There is the fear that he is a friend of the Congress. He has enjoyed the hospita ity of Basicon Javahorfal Vehri. That is all true but we said the hospita of that soon. Don't get cold feel. We are propured to face all consequences forth scheme or solution which is determined to the inverests of Mushims is forced upon us. We shall not only not except it but result it to the atmost of our capacity. If we have to do in the atmost we shall die fighting 40 capacity.

Cripps met with Man ana Azad, then out of air, on March 25. The Congress, rescuent's Fing sith he commed was not as good as his Persian or Arabic Azad bassled that to boil ze ndrain "effectively" it was "necessary" to give their "control of the defence of their country." Cripps pointed out that a rategically I did had to be regarded as pair of "a much greater theatre of wor Azad resterated his point however and Cripps decided tout what Congress ready was the "appearance and name of an Indian Defence Maister not acrual courted over "the movement of troops or other an, any area greateries."

Jamah arrived at the viceroy's palace just as Azad was leaving Capps explained that he and not taken the Mostim League or Pakistan "propagands very scriously during his last visit two and a half years ago but assured I must that he had "changed" his view because of the "change in the command feeing in India and the growth of the Pakistan movement Cripps then handed jamah the document he had brought from London, "which I hink rature it privised him in the distance it went to meet the Pakistan case his stated of course that he was not prepared to give any view of the hand is long discussion as to its effect especially upon Be agal and he Pin in the first weight of the first view as theflier not violated to desiring." I finish them "promised to lay the matter sofore his Working Committee in Delhi and to come back and see mis limined ately afterwards. If was extremely cordial and whom we

parted expressed the view to me that the one thing that mattered was to be able to mobilise the who e of Lidia behind her ow it defence and that he was personally most incomes to achieve this '16 Expert negotiator that he was Jonah wisen retrained in his opening meeting with Cripps from any permitted, criticism."

Crippes accept with Gandh on March 27 o'd not begin on a happy note Candh considered it extremely nadvisaly o' to pyously the cocumer and arged Cripps to retrain from dung sociasking what Jimpan thought

I told him that he had suggested that, in view of the da get of caseage if wor d he wise to pulse bit before too long, and he safe proted this as being an aid cation that I mak was a according to schome, . . . I then asked him how, supposing Jimah were to accept the scheme and Congress were not to be would himse had safe me in proceed. He said that in these cardians across the proper or raised before me to throw the response between the proper or raised him that he must now the response between the proper discovering the mean in the recent place of the proper discovering the property of the property

It was one of Candhis most builting ideas turning over an art provest and responsibility to Jamah, but so British species or call not touch and the courage or windom to try the idea.

On March 29. Noha, came to breakfast with (ripps, will her hear them west to Biria deuse to see Grandby Asad, and others of the Voice in Committee of the Congress to ripp better distinguished to he see it of the voice and the left see in complete circuit as to wrether Congress visible test deed and the acceptit and thank was not worth argued in a formal alteration or whether the was not worth argued in a formal alteration or whether the was not worth argued in a formal alteration or whether the was not achieved to press be not personally view or the great. It benefit to the scale of an analysis of the see in the control of the control of the see in the control of the cont

Menon as the key to resolving the command puzzle that had buffed Morbes shall be Median dead to the street of the

AR D. BATTHESS.

countless furtle hours of interne negotiation. Perhaps it was just that with stakes so high he could not resist a roll at that total game suspecting as one his confluents just 1 that "it he prought this settlement off. Unpps would certainly replace. Unition." His fatal flaw was however that he believed impelf ormipownt hargeting what Kiping had written of his well-intentioned rebears, he hoped to have the First. 39

At this juncture President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent his former assistant secretary of war Colon. Lour Johann, out to India as his personal representative across county Johann to Littingow as a man of broates represent the interest of the control of the contro

As soot as its thigow timery and Church I earned that Johnson and Roosess I would no collect to tweet their policial arms by way of congod is more to a someouperating of his shall age as I hasor put Congress the Colops game was over tools toppe set sed to believe he was Brished Fig. 8 pt meeting with lacian waters he long press conferences. sene ng long r and songer six nt to a group theme and longerly dogging the horse that had said divise him. The aid broads and mong star of his political career weilt to to eclipse and it fadaes borning sum. On April 2. Azad and N. I. a hanced Capps the Congress Work of Committees resolution rejecting its offer instead of thanking then, and flying home Copps warms the text of the resourcen to Churchal and sit up a meeting with Azad, Neara, and field marshal for Archel and Wavell 1883-1950. The tight appea commander melbel who cry need furthflow as viceros the following year was then fighting a lowing battle in Malain and Burma, desperotely hoping he is aid keep the Japanese from sectishing through India's Eastern well of raggerd mountainous forests. He had no time and less talent, for politica gamesmanship. With one glass over and little to one le

Jamah left Dolhi on Thursday, April 2, taking the hight train to All Jankad where the highest of the Mill Language to starte the mass All Language Conditions and All Lang

about Wavell's was hard, a personality to appeal to \ him Azad or

Cripps. Nor was he ready voi intarily to release at left the or I tary strongs

he controded Still Cripps was determined to try to bring Vehru and Wave

Allahabad's Central Radway Station, then escented with through more than a bundred green tose decorated as hes of gramph that led to the packed pandal in Mahmadabad's garden Jimah, resented his one of (ripps proposals in a car succinct manner saving, now that are scheme was really dead how deeply disappointed' al. Mushims was to find that the entity and integrity of the Mushim varion has not been express? recuginged Arvatt upt to solve he problem of India by the process of evading the real issues and by or recognised to territoria, cultiv of the provinces, which are more accidents of British policy, and administrative division a fundamentally wrote. Makin, hidd a will not be satisfied vices the right of national set determination is unequive allegreeognized. The

On Faster Sunday of that year (cone) (all most not Chappe on the first time at the vicerox's house over linch and each longrized a pot tial affy in the other for both were liberal legal minds who felt as tax removed as terection is from the vicen's and has commander- reduct as her were enfearable tran Vehry, and Azad Both ergo on more casildence of high places in London and Washington, moreover than either in a New Delta or hada. And each, to a rocar had tallen under he spe of Nebra's cosmoportan charm to in the spirit it Easter Sanday they joined forces loping to recorrect the alsoor that is I train a world on Cood Friday They moved with great energy resonantefulness and top secrees trucking Nebru, Azad and all conders of leaguess at all horrs of lay a condition convincing themselves that there was advertabilities the end of news anotherional Linual. The came to be seve to at Il Congress really wanted was control over the Me stry of Distoner so the lataked out as a sorate, agenous former, was set; that make, con commonly by pullinder de-Indian while all data remarked in sporest, was world remain under he commander mediat was world steen and a muster of variand they actuals thought he would reflect to so or India's problem (pps baceven gawn plats of cithan about consters for the new unbonal goveroment by use going to in fall and Congress Frisiden: Azid wis his cho for home or aster it carge of palie. Asac whose Januah was la net speak to and referred to as a dies on More on son to sugle be Lin consinced Selic of the wisdom of cooper ting only if the same will at inand are Cornes compete the glittings alo suggested into line. It was all an illuston apun out of India's torrid heat.

Many cables were exchanged between Londor and India in the next seed of the control of the contr

real issue is to court disaster 4

spill is record form on April 10, 1942, just as Gandh, had predicted they would be the record of the Expansion of the February as presented 42ad wrote Cripps

We are a prepared to assume responsibility provided a truly National Government is formed . . . But in the present the National Covernment is to a Carmet Government with two power and mast and mast are contribution of the Vascop's fixesuity Council. We would point out to you that the suggestions we have put forward are not one only but may be considered to be the unamount for masters there is no difference of opinion among various groups and parties.

"IT is a transaction as that assertion." I made told the press as soon a read tracks field assert in so rail data later. "Modium India has retained to the surpress does not represent not to the later. As a solution at the later manerities, the later of the solution of the later of the present of the pre

or a selecting a world the role. There is clearly no hope of to a self be a law or Saar a. To Azid he wrote, You sag. at the Non-Coverno, when he wash no set by Calmer Co. in a fiel naver William or stanional changes of a most complito come and the same generalist would not be possible as on The process of the Valory of our more tweet as far as pro-Rose all read (1 read) not pore Crippes departure report e it is the a tar States. The eding is a most on sensals held that the admin has no words the wife mass of the British Cow movent o men to be served of se go growing non-betand gither willingness of the Indians to cotrust technical, military and naval defense n of the a Bruss part are its Van it author many comnot refer a district but a constant as any to person the come ponent parts of India to secode from the British Empire after the war, it is not will ug to permit them to enjoy what is tantamount to self-government cut ug the war "44 Chinchill chose to pocket that cable rather than show it a hit exhibet or use it to ware Grapps back to New Delhi from Karnehi,

where he just landed. Churchill had not after all become prime minister to preside over the dissolution of His Majesty's Empire.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League issued its resolution on the Cripps offer shortly after Congress resolved upon reject on

The Committee while expressing their granification that the possibility of Pakoran is recognised by implication in providing for the establishment of two or more independent Unions in India regret that ... no alternative proposals are invited. In view of the rigidity of the attitude of His Majesty's Government with regard to the fundamentals not being open to any modification, the Committee may no alternative but to say that the proposals in the present form are unacceptable. The Musalmans cannot be satisfied by such a Declaration on a vitid question affects, their future des in and deposing a clear and process proposition in the present as their Any attropts.

Once again, Januali had raised the minimal terms for neget along any settlement to the most persistent political proposition of roccit Indian intory. Paki stan was hardly in periodern, demand

to solve the fature problem of ladas by the process or evading the

Dawn in Delhi (1942-43)

for such a post on record from throughout the remaining years of World World Hollen and done as har port, with Congress or any council of a vertical 4 done as go, and of the Mash a right collaboration many for a settlem of the Association of the Mash as government locked come than every time, a colors and His Mayesta a government locked come than every time as a colors and Mash a League coders for the support they required to all the set Janahas stock rose to new heights at Loridan and a such as the Simila and New Delhi.

pent's political matter was rarely instead at Whitcha. "I don't suppose Jaman will strat to score as national at than Congress and therefore con a manager are existent mattator. A new viole Labitagow thank I are Craps was here a creat instore and speculating on possible future.

It he does. I suppose you could give him certain seats, balancing his men with Armedokar are presented new India or two out still returning the major by of your existing Executive? Or you may simply devide to the of bringing a political leaders from their of the two main parties?. The Muslim League, I suppose, will still be officially non-co-operative, but probably more co-operative them bithered in practice in view of the definite concession to the possibility of Askistan teat we have made?

In the wake of Cripps, the governor of the Punjah reported that The Sikh et a na a a ver are b a 1 th and all so come nature of the Wor Cabinet's proposals "Sikhs were afrand that if the Punjah re at a control than a b d

province once ruled by Sikh Maharajas would be enveloped by "the outer darkness of Paiestan. They regarded themselves as being in danger of ever last ing subject on to an unity upathet c and themselves as being in danger of ever Sikh Mahamajan mitipathy, bad roots that went back to sevel them to entury mughal imperial rule. "We are doing what we can to get with the situation," Covernor Glancy assured the viceroy. It was a nost important within passed on to Whitehall is an allow some marking backets a condicity to Mushays or the British Indian area.

Blood and tears are going to be our iot wheth it we also then or not." Nebru predicted all too accurated a a press confirence in a lababed in mid-dipol after cropps flew lionar. "Our mode and tears will flow maybe the parelised soil of linds needs them so that the fire flower of freedom, any grow again."

Copps held a press conference as London on April 22 and insisted "The problem now becomes not a publical our I, at the problem of its defence of India and in that I have had the assertice of a many of the eaders that they are going to cooperate to their atmost 4 Assertic be I ad the ed Nebru and Ji, also occur to condor the repited negatively for ingle afternoon of their mention of their world want to leave India in "existing one mistances" even If they were invited.

In Madras, Chakravarti Rangopalachari (R. now dramotically sought to lead Compless in the datest on of co-operation both with the Brit ish war effort and the Meson League He resided over a neeting of forty-six members of Madr's Congress leg shit is and proposed two results tions, agreement in which was reached in late April. The first organd that since it was in ross, de for the people to hock in terms of neutrality or passwift throng awasion." It was a solutely and orgothy accessary for Congress to Tremove even obstacle toward estab sleng at Vaniona. Admonstration." It therefore, aged the All-India Congress Farty to locknowedge the Mushr Deagle's 'claim for separation," thereby removing til doubts and lears in this regard and to havite the League for "consultation for the purpose of arriving at agreement and secure g of national Govern natural to meet present emergency. The second resolution requested permission or the Al mula Congress for the Madras Congress to mite with the Muslim Langue and ther province a parties a restore popular government, as a coabt or or ristry in Madras. Both resolutions passed overwhelmangly It was the hit is pertant lineal in Congress's non-cooperaing rinks a siginferently on the mail's poor and the British are a prectichal engeh to Har Nelin

The All India Congress met the following week repudiating C. R. and his Madras resolutions. On April 30, 1942, he resigned from the Working

Commuttee Gandly remained in Wardha but sent his loving disciple Miralane, Macelane Stade to Adahabad with a resolution he drafted for presentation to the Congress, stating

Whereas the British War Cabinet's proposais sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps have shown up British unpenalism in its nakedness as never before. The A.I.C.C. is of opinion that Britain is incapable of defending India. It is natural that whatever she does is for her own definor. There is an etermal conflict between Indian and British interests.

The Indian army has been maintained up till now mainly but Indian as unappeted from the general population who can in no sense regard it as their own.

In any quark is not with Lidia. She is ware against the British Empire. India's participation in the war has not been with the consent of the representatives of the Indian people. It was purely a British act If India were freed her first step would probably be to negotiate with Japan.

The A.I.C.C. is, therefore, of opinion that the lair syndrom.

Nel a mated but Coinnel loboson and Franklin Roosevelt might help admin to each via Congress were corresponding of the Vietnamental A are as a solution was agreed upon by the Working Committee as so to act to some the ight the resention passed on Maria and Congress and the via Naisenand, base so as to an persolution. On I in the ever Carl Interview.

I see no difference between the Pascut or Nazi powers and the Allies. All use expecters, all resort to ruthlessuess to the extent required to make the management of the requirement of the regretation of the regretation of the regretation will count as dust before the bar of double humanity, whether African or Astatic.... They have no right to talk of human there and at the same have waxed their has declean of the value of the regretation.

A remain contralists, its viewed Coaster that week in Wardha and one ushed "But what does a free fudin meen, if, as Mr Jinnah said, M ud us wid not accept Hindu rule?" The Mahatma replied. "I have not saked to British to hand over India to the Congress or to the Hindus. Let then entriest India to God or in modern parlance to anirothy. Then all the institute will fight one unother like dogs, or will, when real responsibility agent them come to a reasonable agreement. I shall expect non-violence to will describe the modern particle of the said of the recently be had a ways said there could be no Surrely without III are Mastin andy, and then he was asked why he had of late malated.

there would be "no unity until India ias achieved independence?" The seventy-three-year-old Mahatma answered

Time is a merciless enemy I have been aiding myself why avery whole hearted attempt 1, ade by all including myself to reach unity has failed, and failed so completely that I have entirely failed from grace and am described by some Muslim papers as the greatest course of Islam is India. It is a phenomenon I can only account for by the fact that the thand power level available deduction of the transition of the transition of the transition of the resultant conclusion that the two communities will come together already amendately after the British power comes it a final end as

Jimah immediately responded to this with. I am glica that at last Mr. Co. dh has openly decrease that more unit Hima. At of an settler cut can only come after the accessment of indices only not only the control of the clock that he had worn for the last 22 years. The

The All India Congress more senses in early Aug as Gundby fold his followers. "This is a structure bour. We shall get only freedom by lighting to commot fault in the skess. The Branchers is 11 to 10 give is alreadom when we have made softenest satisfies and proved our strength. At a time when I am a so d to be meli the lags at light in a yill be been can be in he red for the British an my beart. The thought to have they are they are in the sate of the last should give here a was as of all, absent from my minital and rate was reported to have said but the drivish arms was ready to abandon India much the way they had Burmin, and that the Satiyagraha camp agor womes prove victorious in a week. If it ends a week it will be a meale and if this happens it would mean inclining the British heart," standly and adding

Maybe wasdom will dawn on the British and they will understand that it will be wrong for them to put in at the very people who want to light for them. Maybe ... a change may come in Mr Immaha mund after all. H. wii, think that those who are fighting are the sons of the soil and if he sits quiet of what use would Paristan be for him... Cod has helped us. When I raised the stogun "Quit India" the people in India who were then feeling despondent felt 1 had placed before them a new thing. If you want real freedom a set I at the property of the rand and only gether will create the desired.

The Wart in Carry C. Co. and note a Legal Law to urest toucher and the Congress Working Committee at any time he desired approximate the congress of the congr

rebuilton" against the government of India. Sikander warned Governox Clancy of his suspicion the Gandha might try to "make terms with Jinoish Iv an our and nut offer or Pakistar and their present a mitted front to Government." Gandhi did, in fact, write an August 8 that

Provided he Musern League co-operated fully with the Congress demand for more are independence without the spheric reservation the Congress will have no objection to the British Government transferring all the powers it today exercises to the Muslim League on behalf of the whole of India. And the Congress will not only not obstruct any Government that the Muslim League may form on behalf of the people, but will even join the Government in running the machinery of the free State. This is meant in all seriousness and sincerity.

See an offer might have tempted [tenah of he had helicyco in or trusted to account it states, days are act he had to dithe press. "All Gamblus help of Thiology count I can a has cally different room ours. The Canal of processing to a second of the processing to give up the pain of so, a content to miss by use moring hat we depend open the Bettinh for the nechteveneent of our goal of Pakistan, ... Hands off the Moch is "a Acquis Boal, was a conducts within the visit machine of the given of the first and convey entire to the conduction of the given of the first are consistent prises for Goadhi and a consistent prises of the Canal and a first state of the Gambla and a first s

very c.f.v.a. should, can this rement onwards consider votatelf a first man or woman, and act as if you are free and are no longer under the head of the electron head of the electron and a too be Congress coleagues after the passed his "Quit India" resolution on the evening of August 8, 1942. "Here is a martra, a short one, that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The martra is: 'Do or Die' We shall either free India or die in the attempt."

Countitive were arrested next day before dawn. Gendhi's linal message to the on rity was written at 5.00 a.m., shortly before he was taken into custody. "Everyone a free to go the fullest length under alarms. Complete area a free and do not seem at \$50 mm to one of the one of the control of

I deepts regret that the Congress has finally declared war and has faunched a most dangerous mass more next an spire of numerous warnings from various individuals, parties and organism one," said Junah on August 9, 1942. Unike Gandhi he did not spect the war to end swirtly nor out he think the British would lose I a never believed moreover, that Satyagrofia could remain union olent the summoned his Working Convertice to Bumbas on 4 gust 16 to plan the Leagues's rategy. They not as instonast for four days and tormally resolved to deplore the decision of the All India Congress Committee to Junich an "open schollow" for the purpose of establishing Congress Huntin downwation in hum. The resal was only lawlessness, and considerable destinction of life time property." The League view the "Quit Listia" movement as un attempt to "force the Musalimum to submitt and surrender to Congress terms and dictation."

DAWN IN DIGING (1942-43)

The violence started it Be also a lew cases filer Canadais arrest quickly spreading to the last of Provinces Delli and R har his specifial a discretive of the government's produce sweep is trially had a paralyzing in pact everywhere. No was the meas see in cit to report in its urbanices or ser kes. By a good the note had been do not be able to a cit in Delli packed by the a good deal of trouble Castadais may be heave and some dispagning been done to import after again I attain in part new to late it, the dispagning to the milliform of strike, and the Chief Commissioner is quite confident that he cun handle the situation."

Ind by ond-4 gust a relative people were deart in Bombay, where the discrete during a gas a regular torm of the set of Radway of round Patria in case or field a were form of and the Brick's reschedance of round Patria in case or field a were form of and the Brick's reschedance of round from a total sales of area. Will I real got outhorizing the brick of the Brick's action of the set of the Brick's Brick's action of the set of the Brick's action of the set of the Brick's very difficult of dispose of effectiveth in a containty of the state of India ***

A week after Gandhi's arrest, Lord Linkthguw was pleased to note that I is act in taked, in the asymptotic and was "refrested" that is the capital city of a country in not a very good advertisement "E Linkth in the capital city of a country in not a very good advertisement "E Linkth in the capital city of a country in not a very good advertisement "E Linkth in the capital city of a country in the city of a country in the

o agonote with Gandhi," adding "With my opin on or Jamah I feel that were ment should forestall it at, I go it other and yent at to assert that to s reak as one Covernor has spoken of the hing the organisation is to follow the wrong method "2 Atyar had earlier appealed to the viceroy to allow it is a try to aegonate a seftlement with Gandh. But Linkingow had refused o perunt law to see Candhi and hen tried a vair to convioce him to stay in e e sterial harness. So Awar formerly Trav neoce State's prime munister days returned to bu Ma a ar home which he heped would remain unuer the protection of Britain's paramount power.

"imman has taken advantage of the latest turn in events to raise his terms against us (not that that motters much), and also to mise them activit Congress." Lin ithgow in orden Anviron a bing that the new and I gilly a groups move a list absigary of coker for it seemed to me incone due that Game tien do occupt the principle of Pakistar by whomsoever It was backed. . . It remains pretty clear that there is going to be nothing at cotton the Congress or the Mas to League is alle the war asts "

An associat Lord Halifax exacteroy Lord Irway carded a most scered rives from Migdly growing safe Algust directly to fine grisperary Apthe ender to a niferrange him that the a niconsider ner I carrye R had just reported to the State Department that the have a same received most of its "financial support" from "the Indian wes it tilt as well as Mohammedan, the great Mohammedan landlords an I must see also of our to part last that of Calcutta. This in our continues of the transfer of the Best showness the car say of the Mos er League for the more reason that the Cos are dues to research opresentations of india to coloring t wor a definite settlement of Indias problems and to , it is not deac ock and secondary reason who the Minamor I law longs to recreated in support, a the Mosicon League is that they are seared of the Congress Party's belief in the national ownership of I i to r sourcey "26

At the end of August, Linkthgow wired Churchill complaining about prioring into visibility a concerns saddens called the great

by far the most serious rebellion since that of 1857, the gravity and extent 6 which we have so far concealed from the world for reasons detects seems Mer she created at a top offer tracts of the countryside and I am by no means confident that we representation of an arrangement servad salietage of our war effort. The lives of huropeans in outlying demonstrate the state of the st lete a contract to the contract of the contrac

as a thoroughfure for U.S. help to China. . . These are the circonstances in which I am now threatened by visitations from Wendell Wilkie and Sherwood Eddy. The latter threatens to come to India in the hope of sciping boway of mediation. My experience of peripatene 4 nemans which is now extensive a flat hear zea in teaching us our business is in unverse ratio to their understanding of even the most elementary of the problems with which we have to deal.26

"Discussing the Avertean invaders it. Cabinet this norming much sympaths was expressed for you." Amery assured and agone to September 1 "and a clear convection that you must be used in use that to not universe go and see the prisoners. On the other has I. Aden and others get that it could only do good your finding to to talk to the better type of American and get our lase a ross. Wilkin is time used discussed and W is on adds expecally amenable to the afficer of good chair one " but er a wisane chips paging Chardrall als oken a "the ascent treature as complicity disposed of and as evicine on the fact is neb in his a ways newton upon that ongress really represents har live anybox excent lawyers money lenders and the find a presthood ""

By 5 offencies 5, the Amic department of the government of India remeted that exchange Bihar at least 340 Indians had been as led by a lier are since A gase I am 630 wor, ded, and on hat he "true total" and to or "considerable I gher " Pouce had a sta ned caret a gla dea is Troops were a jed out must less hand a vivillaces, at most of which they word at fact. Some 6th seven buttalens worth it legal Bribst area solciers were sed during that most blooms and ragio buttle of World War II sought 1. against their iwa people as de India. There was no will of a cora ely est rating the total may been at read and wounded in Riber some breast a result repeat dis strated in hans with machine gan fire

I always riread a coshonor rabic soft most perioder the British Governnent and the Congress. Januah rold the intrinsional press asset thed at his house in New Delly or September 43 Asked I there was chance of any that the at on of his parts a demand. Januah repared "If you start he asking for sixter, amous a full ripce's worth there is room for bargaining. The Mochail a las over aid forward and demand which can by any reaand the name tensed as appresonable. The Mushra Length stands ter adept the new for the Lune is and for the Mussal, and Hinda India has got the method fine, with need and is I do India which is barcommittee or treatment to make our tourt controll and diddle us nut of (t."k

U.S. public pressure, urging Britain to "do semething" for India, to the law on the court of April and and and another

la ed an ever greater role a shorting up Mated defenses preparing the have mag pads from which to recapture Western Fairone and China as well is so theast As a Harry Hopkins spoke to me last right about this strong ressure now being extend in the Premient. Halifux warned Eden. The Lancet should rise et all strong y public op more strong unithose measure I hope that a largest le to say or do something to connected it. Other wise I fear American press, which on the whole has stood by its remarkably a mirrore it. I during the same role in I during the same role in I during the connected and perhaps completely change its introduced to the detriment of Anglo-American relations."

What have we to be ashamed of in our Covernment of India? Chur, asked American I Loidor garden parts that September. Why should be be cologeth or so the vector area to go out a the instance of some acknowings? For eighty years we have given to peace and internal a pre-and image. See eighty years we have given to peace and internal tountry. We have looked after all classes, and we have protected the atterws in all sections, and we have protected the atterws in all sections, and a not going to be a part, so a policy of with the sections.

Cheer a land has a met were most concerned about the rapidly most at a seth g balance of the Pitta novel Judia as a result of warf no modified a drace brate export of ladia as a result of warf no modified a drace brate export of ladia acoust to all fronts. I'll this a reliable to all fronts. I'll this a reliable to all fronts. I'll this a reliable to all fronts. I draw there is purely has works and then set mes that not ast allians in stealing with all in life. I draw those serving occasions and ladia in a stealing with the ware the balance was revers. Cast little filled by the instead to serve a cast to support the state cient large ing "3s. Arthur Balance used to say "The is a large at all concrived worse out not so alleged to be a set of the """ A ners and analyting were read to set sleeping dogs lie "knowing what a declarating of a following rest and this point to change the formula of ladia read to shape of a linear street to have the formula of ladia for the change the formula of ladia for the change the formula of ladia for the change the formula of ladia for the formula of ladia for the change the formula of ladia for the change the formula of ladia for the change the formula of ladia for the declaration in the state of the point to change the formula of ladia for the change the formula of the change the formula of the change the formula of the change the change the formula of the change the formula of the change the change the formula of the change the cha

In October of 1942, C. R. unweiled his plan for "resolving" India's dead-lock suggesting that the beeros should act as the Crown would make risk or England" and setent the most popular and most responsible haders of India to assist him in running what would, in effect, be a "national government." If ye resorted Congressmen is all of an current's proof should first be chosen, and then Jannah could be invited "to join this Government with as many men of his choice" as he "liked." There might additional for the proof of the choice of the choice

their cadership." Juniah, however immedia ely categorized it with a number of other kite-fiving schemes and dismissed them all

Junah addressed his party's council in New Delhi on November 9 and warned them of propaganda to marepresent the Meah'n awayste as allies of British muteriaban in ada, a bastructing the pash of its freedom and independence "which was he can red, currency, circulating in the Listed States." To hose who have been correctly todowing the trend of events in local this allegation about obstroing to path of tributions is not only disgraped in the address of path of tributions is not only disgraped. In the states did not be been made generations of the passage of the address to tributions of the passage of the address. The sames are raise ig out. And two days deer sitter (18 and Juna), has not have the same whose the passage of the address that all the hazards are raised and the control of the passage of the address that had a terminal day of April 1950, where extended terminal value received that Junah had a terminal day of April 1950, where legious or opened that Junah had connected nothing leaving. It is naturally legious and the passage.

Copies found loose theft with so little influence in Chirchill's War Cabinet that it reviged in November 22, cire and ill be was end as uniter of arrestly graduation by world in zeas return to india partial stag until Attles same to nove, Attles was durity objects to reach little, and little was durity objects to reach little, with the mark of results and little was to entire the November to the little was the led an problem and has no senter call, business to the little was the led an problem and has no senter call, business to the little was the led an problem and has no senter call, business to any draft to short of to dissolve to its filled Can character pages and followed Coppess and looder Attless rising advisting the results of construction of the look of the look.

I could be supposed responsely to the look of the look of the soft. Lid a Nove of sexing party so largers wanted the job to promised April release.

Late is 342 Live there were exceed who he cancel of quite definitely relable secret report of a recent talk at bij read where the passes in of American the Clear of expose on the late of the stress of the views of the "First and as seed he will be secret and the second material government on an equal footing" with Hindius, since he viewed that "line" as "the only way to which he could safeguard Falostan. To accept responsibility in a provisional government on any other terms would be to walk into the trap which the could safeguard Falostan. To accept responsibility in a provisional government on any other terms would be to walk into the trap which the could safeguard falostan, and he are a figure of the property was a time when Mindina were fixed with a life and death problem. He did not say that in an ocutanical gouve, he moant that

DAWN IN DELET (1942-43)

r By Mushims must either choose to assert themselves and win for themselves a place in the come your rations or go inder and accept a position of or minen inferently. It was for them to say what they wanted. If the former he was prepared to fight for them till the last of the atter he was willing to also seave and concern himself with making money at the ber."

The U.S. victory at Guadaleanal coming so soon after Recomel's defeat North Africa raised Aliced spirits the world over especially a Whitehall or the American defeating the centering upon 1953 in much better moud than she began in the "But in so in Bergal Twin spiriters of Japanese myasion and in a cf., in emotive to striking terror among Bergal's population "the geog is receiving daily attention from enemy armen. Ispaham reported.

on position is the previous signowing more and more serious each day. In some areas, it is most coute.... Then of thousands is the or lines have been renarred for cleas and one starying. The disaster is really terrible.... The japs have been over any at they have visited is four times. Half of Calcutta in the real.

a x m x di stad of Indias worst famine of the century a tragedy that call the state of the state

changed withing real section of the point of madness." Gandhi changed withing real section of the theorem is fast according to capacity. The started continuous violence in the shape of the attrests. . . . I must resort to the started continuous violence in the shape of the attrests. . . . I must resort to the starte for a started continuous capacity. I had a share tender of the early normal sections of the other tenders of the starte of the start

An emergency War Gabinet meeting was held on the next Sunday at what is not proved

But Gandhi had already been informed of the givent of inclusion offer to receive him and partielled sed. I shall be given bent to take my cost is a detectuar processor to pred the little old man in the case of title and the little old man in the case of title and the receive of title and the receive have daying from the case of the man in the man in

Insuch fell as adapting about Carally a first as Chirchill regulation to age him to keep beingals wavering Mishill Longor mere age of the legislature from his large a resultation appealing to be government for the Mahatara's release. After the first of Kill Card is last Lillahgow was pleased to report that Mishills continue to visual agent and it lands paper. Data is to refer to large strength of a mobile suggestion in the refer of mild 2011 January that he was a saly to see Junals form a rational government which is equivated, it suggests to a tenuncy-abilell as a favour. The

The League remained a no from the mounting waves of protest and a mest throughout limita trigge od by C, indicas fire 11. New Declars legislature was not the Asian real real of the Masho Legislature of our disable the protest of our disable that the second of the min who was to be Fakes and first prime minister. But a condition of them in this matter 1 family was rested by Sapr to a condition of them in this matter 1 family was rested by Sapr to a condition of the new condens in New Debit to a source of studies of the new that I also not the prime of the little of the l

There he take doct is not all he for suppression general when abserved the Mahatens, predicted that he would probably not survive another week of the latter of the collection of the latter of the la

and with the old man's arteriosclerosis the doctors expected a hear attack at any moment. Three members of the viceros's expective council resigned on February 17, 1943, in protes over the viceros's decision not to telesar Gridh, unconditionally even when danger to his ide accured from the fast "10, I i, gow accepted those resignations and found at least three other higher members of his council woods, but managed to consume them to "stay the course. The viceros mented", the governors of the imment possionally Canada's dear high conformation with the code word for which use Rubicons. When that considering Canada's position is our prisoner and a declared reast three course in no question of all quasting flags or sending official messages, I cound not to be a substant and flags or sending official messages, I cound not to be a radio.

A belie it signed or with that they doctors on February 21 warned that the half "entered a crisis" was solved a th severe activity and almost failted and pulse occurs nearly imperceptable. Alloch to every one cannot next however, a lettered may do a die. He dam na staperses the world and desphered his a coap friends who attributed his several to div ne intervention. On the lithogeneous that an doctor not not higher a diese Congress that an doctor not not him who could so usely skip glucos, at their innershared it has best for a full manufactural to the food? "Churchill has so usely skip glucos at their innershared it has food?" Churchill has so usely skip greenering them placements and left particularly and so would not be cover? "a nifery evidence of the skip of the median reports issued as Canadh a physicians in a many treatment of that most famous of Judam patients.

Then on the morning of March 3 Candh, broke his tist. His weight had faire from 60 or 30 your ls, but the next day Loadby reported from Boarbuy that "exercising is now normal."

Meanwale Fixed II of Bergal remained Janahs worst personnel profess, for is long as he contained prosessing over a new League consistent in had Majoh majoras province he appeared to hele the obside premise of Poisson in Bergals few premier admits survived at the lie ad of a each from of his own Progressive Mushim League, shifting Mahasabha. Congression Ferward Box is near for exceeding the first and popular to see as power leaps award because the five the first limits of the cook in a constaint of the first limits of the first limits of the first limits of the first limits and lim

I am going to sacrifice all, that I now possess, for the sake of my country and of the solidarity of my community. I have thought carefull over the satisfaction and with a view to cacditate my coming back to the League, I am ready to tender my resignation which will mean the automatic dissolution of the Progressive Coulition Party May I now get a line from you to tell me that I have understood you alright, and that the ban put on me will be lifted as soon as I tender resignation of my office as Premier? If so, I will take my step I have indicated ³⁴

Junah reminded Haq that he had heard that promise before, the last Nover ser in fact when Haq had a code of arry our these or I took within a Initiagh 19 Japaham and his triends kept up pressure gainst Haq's coulition within Calcuta's assembly which togeth with the Japanese pressure mounting from onto de shook popular confile as everywhen an Beogal against a govern and that a rearred boll incapation of code dig its people or feeding. That is not Morel Fazia. Hump and Jirnal, in Ispah aim's pressure trying to clastic, his prospects of recovering as Benezid's premier of indeed, he resigned and rejon ed the League. After speaking with Ham I tunnih prix tely assured liquid or that is reald not pass bly him. Mr. Fazia, Haq as leader of the Muslim League in the League for the

Faz. Haq obvoush a secutival time resigned his days of power were your so be timed chewhere desperated working round the circle osining support as his forces broke ranks. In the last week of March, however, he are ved a no-confidence of on the "food question" by one vote due to the absence of three Mushim League members. Irre casys rate, Ispatians wired from Calcults jubilantly to report that "Fazlul Haq has been noted." The Lagric appared as seats contested against Haq's Progressives, Muslims were "crossing the floor" daily to join the once depleted against of he Mishm League "bear Missing the floor" daily to join the once depleted against of he Mishm League, "bear Missing the majority of the Muslim MLAs it—opporite us, will soon be healed. Fazlul Haq looks a picture of misery." And on March 29, Fazlul Haq's ministry fell the following month khuwaja "nazimuddiu, the leader of Benga's Muslim League, was invited to form a new government.

The LA will be a real beautiful as session in New Dicha A. — of a second of the late of th

Lik idous ovation and cheering" as he entered the packed panda. 9 With his Jugue ministries now running Bengal, the Panjab, Sind and Assan. Juugh insisted, "This is only the starting point. . . . In the North-West Fronfor Province . . . my information is and it is based on very reliable the Muslim public is entirely with the Muslim League | That sum or Long. Ministry under A tranggeb Khan would come to power in 1 s war Don't forget the Manor , Provinces It , they who have spread the 18th when there was darkness in the connerty Provinces. It is they who were the spen heads that the Congress wanted to crush We have got a grint deal to do. . . Our goal is clear; our demands are clear "**

In ah then reviewed the history of a man Musign conflicts from the nound as explain, after which he such figed on a historing artack upon all ago as tart's, accising the Mahatma of warting to turn the whole it idi. it his II neto ashram He went so far is a suggest a ne s victimit a 1 codh however, arguag "Noboes would welcome it more than are 1 M. Gaucht is even now reads willing to come to a settlement A to Le Miss a Langua on the basis of Fakstan Let ac tell ves that at with a great st as for both Hencus and Masalmans, If he has made p on was what a there to prevent Mr Candha from wroning direct Li mapada

I have specches both in the meetings of the Working Committee and Il Su pers Co writtee held in comera and it the Over Session have corfrench concerns that if a series and I has been passing through a certain plants change reported a Bat spa attending all the League sessions. He is I is here he more aggressive more changing and note auat 1 reason appears to be consciousness. I power later acquired ant. (certain old injuries which can now be averged therewith."

In high final warmed the British, he has expressed his profound tassetal be will bur it not be has arged from a Leagues now to place themselves on a war footing in preparation for what is to come, he has castigated the Capitalists and pumpered the masses (on whose sympathy and goodwill he has to base his future struggle) by his references to "social justice" and "economic reorganisat ou", he has tried to impress upon the Provincial Premiers the fact that their own future hes only in following his lead and above all he has, it order to show his home fides to the neutral world, extended ar open and a most final invitation to the Congress to approach him for a settlement if it so desires. Inevitably the next stage will be mand and and spigger and alreadity, din co-PART IN

lumah's shrewd appreciation of Indian politics and the ever-shifting interaction among its major parties had never been more clearly revealed His greatly overrated estimate of British postwar power however reflected his far less sophisticated appreciation of U.S. Bussian, and Chinese potential for more rapid expansion. Anticipating that the war could last another three years." Januah wisely arged his followers to "put our house in order" during that interlude I agenious strategist that he was, he cancilladed with this warring. The fight being nevitable we must make our proparations Contras. Ag

Nor was this shrewdest of India's politicisms answare of how careful, his words were recorded, copied, and cabled the works wor, in keip rouble the seep of officials in Great Bottom's anglest otherwise of power Oper y. before the mass authence that distened to his president in address at Delhi, linnah said

If they have got any honest and capable agents they hight to be kept influend a London. I once more draw the afternor if in Brickh Government to this fact. It is a very serious situation indeed, and I inform their from this pint orn that the e.g. if att. acre, and disappointment-not to use any stronger angil go at the shabby treat iont ructed act to Mushin line a is a larger o them League calls apor, the British Government to come forward without any fasher delay with an anti-proces declaration governmenting to the Musalmans the right of self-determination, and to pleage themselves that they will abide by the verthet of a plebise e on the nes of the resolution passed at the Muslim Langue Session in Labore in 1940

I say to the Muselmans . . . 100 million Museumans are with as When I say 100 m then Masalmans I mean that 99 per cent of them are will us, eaving uside some who are traitors, cranks supermen or hunstles--an evil from which no society or nation is free. The way to which I see them now is that the phoenix-like rise and regoneration of Muslan India from the very ashes of its ruination . . . is a mands. The people who had out everything and who were placed by providence between the two stones of a mill, not only came into the row mayer short to be care, after the British, socially the most list a dark the loss write and no treatly the most decisive factor in modern India. Now it is time to take up the coustructive programme to build up this nation so that it can march on the path of our goal of Pakistan. . The goal is near, stand united, SUSCERED and the storage of C

I ven before he ended his address, oud and prolonged cheers and cries it "the di-train Zodahad" "Pakistan Zodahad" Muslim League Zinda limil" everherated from thousands of taronis that would early his message to also so of Mussims beyond range. I Jimah's fram voice. Soon they would be a fatus healing their great leader in the pain-filled march to their te asoil mand.

15

Karachi and Bombay Revisited (1943-44)

Januah's challenge to Candhi in Apri elected a letter from the Mahatma who read the coal line in the Dar o early in Ma. "Dear Quidio Aziro, I welcome your stijlest on Estigast are meeting face. I wor facine the full king through correspondence.

But I are a your barrow. I appet that I is letter will be sent to you and, is not agree to my propose that the Government will let now x structure.

I divigous a mind to a sponse was to "raise no objection of Jimah wants to see Gandh in a moting with good reason. I doubt the Manut has move being whols palatable to Jimah." A very was loss with g to approve however remailer the secret that he had refused to permit the search durg C. B. to visit Carolly.

Although Jinnah is a different case in some respects, refusal has hitherto been based on Gandhi's past behavior and if we once abandon principle that he is kept incommunicado because of his responsibility for mellion and resist remain so air I are disassociates himself from that policy. I feel that we may be driven out of our whole position, which is of course Gandhis object.

toth were both convover 1 deliver Candid's either to Jonah. The natter was to be decided by the cabinet, but Churchill had just sailed off 1 Mobilet on the Candid for with the local or an Angle. So out hosts of the house of the coordinate opens as against Germany Rub, and Jupan, it was during this trip that Churchill felt he got to know Wavell well enough to believe be was the sort of man to replace the first process.

single indelivered letter is incalculable but the secretary of state prepared an elaborate memorandom on the subject which was core and to the cabinet true to its first meeting on the subject which was core and to the cabinet true to its first meeting on the subject was charten by atteen Charchiles absence was help on he same when the same when the was die Churchile of course, remained a telegrap me touch with Americ discussions the waste debate on this state matter. The secretary of state affects we rect a most investment of the table to the lacerosistic the second meeting and mind that Candile letter should of go convart. It is but the new of electromically to homese are not the global way the next week with America egos, so has a to wre the num Great Is an considered wise enough to cover as Indian view for the global way the case of our that possition, according to be cased if you at vited Januals to come and see you."

he had a rong to sent or I tooksed his time and carry or on the strategy of seeking to make in Langia that officerse and resource to position lemands and never, the ir times treep. The Pikistan slogar is gaining morganization to the temperature of the property of the contraction of the state of has an an emanter reading of escassion in the Press is to whether push sons ast fiel as aggest has De to a world that the Pumpal Cabinet is a League Main's. The Name of Marmont for all brades of the Muslim Legger, has so ght to reprove the accasing by a Press statement but to Skind r Jun, beact has or do to an easy the in plication being that more notice, nortexence by the Mission Language Penial politics and he expected." Skanders death in December of 1942 had left his Univest party in extry indice the control of a price or inger less experience. Micfin Juder Khizar II at Khan Tiwara 900 77. By each June "Hadu and gnation with I mish was reported with there are greater than ever mand, himself is will pleased so far as one can lidge and there is no quesfrom that he has sent bis stock up str. bigher " an ans most frank assessment of Januar. I withgow remarked

I do not however think he wants a row with Government. and his threats do not cause me any sleepless nights! As I have consistently felt and said both to Zettaind and to you. I must work, be quite as bad a master as Gandhi, But firman is not us as strong a position as Gandhi and Congress, and he is never likely to be, in the near future, since he represents a mmority, and a minority that can only effect ely hold its won until it associated Nor, of course is his organisation anything like as deeprooted as is that of Congress. His curso is personal variety which at his age he is not likely to shake off?

Churchill recommended Field Marshal Wavell to his cabinet in mid-June 1943 as and as reviveron Carteral Sir Claude Attendeck who har followed Wavell In the Middle East command, was to succeed him as commander-in-chief of India. Labour ministers viewed Wavel, as a "safe" or "stopgap" viceron at a line when India needed nearwe into gonze ditiomate skill, and magination. Charchill's top priority however was to indilinks militarily at any cost as Simbas, in the sort account for one pass, as and a half Archie Wavell had proved lymsel, the good solutor, strong a silent.

The one thing King George VI "complained" about to Wavell at a Buckingham Palas In all was the "length of the Vicerox 6.8.4". "Breach Palas In all was the "length of the Vicerox 6.8.4". "Breach Barry from London 11 takes over 1 line 1 Way II them I = I a unit directle go be seed on Indoor proteins, sincial those has a good he ledand a monating war dide web ab his addition, sincial those has a good he ledand a monating war dide web ab his addition. I have been seed to the latter folds and exercise any to do with it and cast the open at his cast down of Amery's remark to him that "Winstom 1, "knows as much of the latter of the seed of the latter of the latter of the latter of the seed of the latter of the seed of the latter of t

Jemah visited Ba into a pilv and lide see the Langues Hole or vincial conference "It the foot of a bill in a tastefully decorated panda, which included all the notables of the city numbered about 25.000 "at The Quard a Azam "exhorted the Muslims of Balachistan to shake off their lethargy and march in line with their nation." He urged then to "Cape up on a said march in line with their nation." He urged then to "Cape up on a said march in line with their nation." He urged then to "Cape up on a said march in line with their nation." He urged then to "Cape up the sain equipment and the passed all the resolutions he advocated. Dischard retreated his pre-hattle plan for Pokasan, seeking little to say the Languest of the pre-passage as leave the students in his audience he cautioned conservatively. "Do not run the hat a cause of two and a variable a non line of the order of the cape and any variable a non line of the order.

them as Jinnah was speaking on the bleak but well fed Wastern border of the harder a second of the harder as the h

I from note do at once, was Governor John A. Herbert warned the viceros of a conder how far he is right about the Bengat attaction. Limiting which is that cetters margin. The viceros recommed, however less preocramed with the terrible Bengal femine, which had by then claimed over a cit on lives than with his own fantasy fears of a fast-unto-death that Goodal might bounce in August.

** a treed ! Bon bay from as tour of Balach ston on Friday Jah

**, a live stor on the afreemon of Monday July 26 a Countral years

** A live strom Labore Bala Sahir Mazangay entered the Quanda
** A live strom Labore Bala Sahir Mazangay entered the Quanda
** A live strom Labore Bala Sahir Mazangay entered the Quanda
** A live stromy Labore Bala Sappeared to July any secretar Mr.

** It is not strong a live year of Bala as a and who he wanted I say boys "Januah test new ages in Bon-ba s high court."

My whole mind was on my correspondence and I was trying to get on of the room. I set as I was about to beave the room, in the twelfalling of an eye the accused sprang on me and gave me a blow with his couched list on my left jaw. I naturally recled back a bit when he put fed out a kinfe from his wass. . . It was an open kinfe. . Instinct if self-defence made me put out my hand and catch his wrist with the result that the momentum of the blow was broken his in ap to not this the kinfe just conched the left side of my faw. I go in cut near my chi i am my coal was cut near the left-shoulder as was an account of the left-shoulder.

a methy after when potion arrived.

The sect and Johanded Linself In court, reporting that he had belonged of \$1.4.1 (a) in the case "the Lengt c was not doing anything for the Musluss or for homanity except to licing." He insisted that he had gone to appeal to Jimah for work and selp, not to assessinate him, but was found guilty as charged of a line a part of our people for less a lab basespect with the had \$5 to be a line of the had had an indication of a pirit or standard. "Don't worry," be wired close the had had had a line had a line had be a line of the had had been seen the had been the had been seen the had had had been the had been

sparce the most precious life at the Sub-continent. "19 Jimah publicly appealed to friends and disciples to "remain calm and cool."

Lord Wavell's "secret" assessment of Jinnah in mid-September 1943 was that "It is hardly too much to ray that Jinnah as the Mushim League. He is a sain, shallow and a thirtous man who was a probably think the present time rapportus, for any rapprochement with the Hod's, "of the lew accross september of Gandhi was not much better "Gandhi und Jinnah orr soft dectators... Gandhi because he has built himself up as a safor, and Jinnah orr soft dectators... Gandhi because he has built himself up as a safor, and Jinnah orr soft dectators... Gandhi because he has built himself up as a safor, and Jinnah orr soft dectators... Gandhi because he has built himself up as a safor, and Jinnah orr soft and break the responsibility of the safor as a soft is just to the decided and the safort is lost of sure at associated to be governor as "a series at a cures from mah about the supvives that be had rendered to not kind."

Ispahano urg of I made to come to a situate that time to sold a Lean is on all meeting times, each of Nazimondon was the weak to consider beind Material La after so against the League i most sold net was of consecution part for the transmittended. Propagation and action the active consecution within the programme of the Ministry Taylor moment. "Or followed have not the guts. It is mecessary that consecution purchased in the Bengal before conditions workers. It is soon sone by the programme of the house in order "Materials and the one and set the house in order "Materials and the one and per study dangerous, trip asserted extending from Single 1 to a warry his issued a statement on the Bengal tamenes have October mosting that

the present Ministry working indep the present count ulion with its resistance cannot be saided out a few responsibility and further the out cannot be power of er the term e-cross and out of a color and Bengal. I am assured that they are doing their very best But the fact terms four thousands one cong, and I carnes to appear to II s. Excellency the Vicercy Lord Wavell to leave no stone unturned and gas be clear belon and relief to the people of Bengal of I is I the resources that the Government of India can command. Similarly I appeal to the Churchill ... This modelle, whoever is responsible for it, is the greatest blot on the British administration in this country, and it must be wiped off without delay. The content of the British administration in this country, and it must be wiped off without delay.

t they so desire by exercising their rights under the consultation of the at if they try to settle things by torce and yind use nothing out In and-shed would ensue."34 He was sensitive to the sort of barbed criticism than kindsars and other Punjohis as well as Benga is arclading chief mines ers often amed at him. He defended Nazimuddit similatur. Bengal as or a free called too at to put out the ready to me vel doing as is to my rish as da mage. Three ways after he to speak on the "food s and a De has emplayer assert or and represended for Henry Rich ardson, the leader of the European party for saying it was "no use" in no 1 "Feror names" against Government for the Bengal disaster

The versional this recrimination when the convergment is charge of or you are called pop to ex, a tree widnest and that we are carlle tairs at a who are the have discharged their dies and remore of Who is the real that has to be found out Surery the ca similar of the equatry's responsible for the stery of the laves of the people, and that is a fact which nobody can deny. . . . Supgram a few prefere se de had hed ar were lying at a sufficiency after long a few social district world fiber for 24 hours? And here we eb It's Government by abic to stand are calmly and coolly told about not indulging in recrimination. It is our mafortune that we are living under a system of Government t . T walde all represents and I was all add, thoroughly many not of collamor and I guest con

It as a line of the attress go not but British government unceror no tor lear sassage of the Pow attacts but only were Bengal A fine steel of second that same ship Mas and League to be as well as Hengal were being widely blamed for pre thing are a the famme

some It 100 M . . . e.g. or gathered to karach to attend the thirty first session of the Mushin League that December. When Jimah entered the bei Landy lighted tent, he was greeted with thunderous shouts of "Quaid-Azam Zindahad" and "Conqueror of Congress Zindahad." He beici to spoak at 13:50 p.m. on the eve of his sixty-seventh birthday and conen extempore for 100 minutes in English. He was forced to stop "four orter as the right or might of dresent as "a touch of coid" in the League's official report of that historic address " matteral in mant. M. 1.4 is 1.4 de ag. dura "When it may a rick and almost dwing, he has not got the energy either to complain or to sik for anything. . That was the condition of Muslim the group as a first of and the doubling. He has negative connectomment. He is not only convalencent but he is in a position to move about. Now he has got so many suggestions and proposals to make so many disputes and so man quarress to settle It is a go if sign, provided a is kept within him s "2"] much appears it this point to have forgotten he was talking about "Mishin Liula" as the "sick man" and to have lapsed into a personal rever in I get some suggestions which are splendid ones and thought all ones and very good, too. I get compla ats and petty quarre's which I do not like But anyhow t is a healthy sign. In one word let me put it to vin this way it as thankful to God that M shin India is awake. I are thank u) that Mus Ti I idia, as regained consciousness I am thankful that Muslan India is taking interest in things around it,

not only in India, but throughout the world."4

Jonah then announced his appointment of a three na saaqua. Ah Khan, Khaliquezzaman, and Husson Imore parliar fur board as the first sluter of the League's nat opwide cand dit's for election. He also proposed establishing a new Committee of Acinic to be chained by Nasvab is a Khan and convenied by I quat Al is on it equational reoner a and social planning for Pakistan. This committee was to include the Named of Mandot C. M. Sved. Hap Sachar Suit and Que M. sa und thoy were all for made appearted as prending December 27 1943. After the admess aded to put As & girst tompra, e rate or as buthday Or and Azara and his sixter returned in the marked paint I had a glid for the larger's second sitting "scorted by two too games will discon words. Grev mit in I League nat mal geards to swed Jareah every vacce after the attempt on his bit, and will close water over the crowd in ter and An estimated 2,000 of these Langue guards sometimes called I has "space and " and led as Newab Salmy A. Khar of the Central Pressures mare editurned Karasin Nazarnadde had arrived from Coleptia I cought day and joy ed his zar and the presiders of Sona Assan, and the Nich West Florenz on etage beind the Quart (Azen, whose girlering to It one stood apart in front of all off, it seats on the days. It I will me ps for Sardor Associate Kham prophesical nat "The day of reckowing is on and when the a room Mr Jinnah comes to us to get out and fight for Palastan, we shall not falter "

The strain of his long address in Karachi left Jinnah "prostrate on his bed stage of a to the hor a bit. Farma recaded the han the ability to sleep at will. A good night's rest gave him enough energy to cope with the daily crop of letters, requests and important problems for which solutunos had to be found. He kept up this tempo in splite of recurring feand the reserved a new collection of the perfect of los presence in climant corners of the country. Rice one from Massnar, by explaining "how difficult it is for one to go on animag owing to mor soon

present of work and therefore at is not passible for me to make any commentent which I have not be ship to Fu fil. 20 By manuscing public apparatures, while seeing to fit that all his statements received maximum for a might after Johnson continued to function, presenting a relativelying rous façace to he word one secureloping hanse time cloud of such the sociation that it enhanced his charge at timege his adding auras of any trivial and perpetual resource of work to his personal fit had mastered in him management, recharques of one egular, responsability to trusted litertements more printingally than any of his Indian contemporaries.

Lord Wavell ike his predecessor has stated fishing in the Congress waters could I of rigore hope easily failed that the so her V error thinks that he would succeed where his predecessor had failed in hundling a tig list or number of and tones sufficient for his pur ins. Thus has created deep resentment throughout M is an in. 18

Nave sough advice from the governors as how best to proceed and a lawsest of Centre Pressures write to warm the vicerox against augmenting jumah. "I know that many hard things are said about Jinnah," ow it moved, "But I often wonder where we should have been had not jumah foresoen how falal it would be to Muslem interests to support Consider the Lawsen and the lawsest that it was a lawse of the Lawsen and the lawsest the lawsest the lawsest without giving a quad pro quot to the Hindus. . . . Government a not all was a lawsest a lawsest and all lawsest and lawsest

tance of Pakistan. Jurnah arguing that a premisente would be a waste of time and lead only to riots in the Ponjab and Bengal."44

Wavell was puzzled by Jinnah and bod no appreciation of his complex character or the force of his will or the deep we springs of history it does upon for sustenance. He saw only the surface cosmopoutan appearance he recalled not less than the same and peets or triusm of Jinnah's varity. If gather that Jinnah regards me as an enemy of the Muslim League and is determined to be as much of a nursaine as he can the viceroy concessed this pursual opara of late March. He does not really represent solid sheads. Moslem opinion in fact. Ji himself is rardy in Musici, out, he can sway appropriate and no one seems to have the character to oppose it in "a The secret was certainly not read to concede Pakistan" to such a man, a experience which he highling still uged along inous shastern front and Bengar romained racked with turning.

One of the things Was ill wanted to do was to talk to Gundhi but by the time Casulla's gentle had seriously deterorated. After his wife died that believery the Mourisi opposited to have lost air will to sorvive the at this long determines. There empter who examined him Bit as well as Inchan neged an early resease. Wavell is ommended ancoul tional reuse to Amers in Max was sing that "serious difficulties would result if the aids used in detention" and agree ug with the medical opinions, that Canethi was unlikely I be as not vertactor as pouses again "at This assurthe helped wit Churchill's approva, in May 5, 1944 As soon as Candh. vis transported from the Aga khar's forma pamer where he had limand dispersor I to the nearby nouse of his old mend" Lady Thackeras he perked up and prees ed money visitors. The Mahabha's swittered are a street Amers of what Lord Peron had writt a to out of his sellers My nother relian has been dangerously all, she is now dangern sly weal." . Amery, can only hope that the is not going to be true of our old friend Illa "Cl relall of course, was outraged at the news of Gandhi's signs the same of all life and to ared his "mixed faker, had outlever, him

With the weeks of his ralease Goodh spoke of seeking talks with Jinhi who had, however, gone to Kashmar to rest and breather the cook, reident per of Serman return to structure, strugger with Khizar in Lahore,
his constructed Lahore on late Analy byers, to pressure Khizar into
identify his means the but as high to proport the voting premier
and firm refusing to knitickle under to the Quard-sAzam. Shaukat Hayat
him (Siknader's on) was, in tach, the only member of Khizar a provincial
cabinet to go along with Jimuali's demand that it proclaims itself a Mislim

and the construction of the control of t

towernor Glancy to dismiss Shaukat for some "injustice which had come to g J 3 most conveniently thus helping strengther the Unionist Party. The Mus im League's Committee of Action voted to expel Khazar before the cutd of May For the remainder of the war, the Punjah could no longer - ret re be counted among the League's provincial idragas raine assets. " I read S ka mer pact was final a dead G anes and Wave felt just work about the possible army ties of the Musim League National Counds" in the Puntab, and the viceroy wrote "we shall have to take a and with Jamab to prevent command another to June Knizar A raid air Janah was "importing into the P apab a number of Maulvis I combit and Provinces to agreete against the Unioner Covernment on piles is lines " kn zar asked the vierroy to keep "these proper out and I won I tak like to keep Junia's and other programers. Musin's leaders er t of the Punjah too." Waved liked Khizar very much but recognized he to strong this actor and mould odd that these big for about mirth a norld be so dominated by a down-country lawyer like Junah." I are a speasal of Januar glaring y covered the viceros a materially

a understand his nature or true power

and I'm nees covernor Sir Mai nee Haliett, who considered Gondle none sacator, lonkers, cantoned Wavell against greater, the Manatura of a teview to the speeps, was a no rush to see either Condiand the actioning to Akar I am the secretary I have as I smooth a a just and was one to the opening that no progress was peachle till the the ground. If I a new round of Canchi frinan tales assert that allower a see hash words were a sgring feword Lorday on avaisable pulses of electric power, C. R. published a political "foru la." which he issisted Gandhi was prepared to "accept," if only Jinzah. agreed to it. That formula proposed a "plebacite" for the Muslim-majority in it may want at the larger wast and passet and a to "decide the is the of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of formand the second shall be given Rect to, without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose the transfer of the transfer of the transfer consider he in the area of a Marter's new posting

It h was a no rush to believe C. R.'s assurances of Gandhi's "accept not however and awaited direct word from his old adversary, who finally wrote (the original was in Gu anatt) on July 17, 1944

hrista g

Thoreway wheat a finder of the performance far gue I slay I take courage to write to you in the some language. I had invited you to meet me while I was in jail I have not written to you since my release But toda my neart says that I should write to you. We will meet whenever you choose. Don't regard me as the enemy of Islam or of the Muslims of this country. I am the friend and servant of not only yourself but of the whole world. Do not disappoint me 46

Jinnah replied from Srinagar on the eve of his departure from Kashmir afforming. Mr. Gandhi' that he would be "g ad to receive you at my 1 it se in Bor say or ny retarn, which was probably be about the indust of August "44 The War Cabinet was brought into the partition on Gandhis recent noves." with a memo creviated by Amen to his ous; colleagues Church'll was beside binised will tray at the lb. 5 s got and the movies of yet another viceros "negotiating" with the title old hall Vir Sav riar loader of the Hindy Mahasahna and the gaze to Candhi's fature assessin was equally upset at the Malation's atost prove warming Aprily by wire. I milesald tes an never tolerate greaking up of union of Irdia their fatherland and but hand ""

The Mashin League rouncil met is Lahore or [1, 30, 1944 Juniah presided and reported on the current state of politic idivelopments concernug t R's "for only" and the proposed so unit I c was prepared to conecde nothing to accept nothing on fifth in his territoring meetings will but old the east. The League's council gove bito unarranous support and Quart- Azari concluded that biret meeting with the procase that "Insha Allah, Pakistan is coming "

The tasks started in September 9: Candin and I much posed with broad singles on the veranda of Japan's Malagai II, house better they went inside for three and a quarter hours of prevate and secre discussion. Can jobs laws or that I was, I mal kept is record if their to did eve Gandhi reported is version of the first days talk to C. R., colling the meeting in test of on patience and noting. I am amazed at my own patience. Howover it was a friendly talk." He then informed C. R. of Jinuah's "contempt or your Formula ... I as contemp, for you," which Candhi called "stagger ng He says you have accepted his demand and so should I I said, 'I Horse Bar story of ou can call (Pasistan J voo like He talked of the Labore Resolution. . " Candhi also reported that Junah told him that if he conceded Pakistan he stood ready to "go to jail" or even "face II was Pakis' in 10% and fire independence. We will have independence for Pakistan and Hindustan, he said 'We should come to an agreement and then go to the Government and ask them to accept it, force them to accept our solution . The Mushus want Pakistan The Laugue represents the Muslims and it would reparation. "10

From Second, an etring proved no more fraitful than the first though Candil, reported to C. R. that Jinnah "drew a very alluring picture of the Convergment of Pakistan. It would be a perfect democracy "at Candhi then it is to be reported distinctions," but Jinnah insisted "that was with regard to it juster temocracy. The press coaps waited for Jinnah and Caiath, as they are temocracy. The press coaps waited for Jinnah and Caiath, as they are, I can that warning session, asking "Anything for as" Candhi replies. "I have nothing..., Yesterday you read something in our faces, ..., con I to via in the raid anything in our faces except hope and nothing to use I not be trivial to ask Jinnah. It is, right they was seen the in a still and raig." "Anys response was Why bother."

I not a seed in this to a me to this, if the ti, is He anderstood the Midhatma's game too wall, writing curtly on September 13:

Lacre Me Comme our tasks you were good enough to inform me that you has not had time to attend to my letter of September 11. We may again today without having received your reply, and I am still walting for it. Phase, therefore, for me have your reply as soon as possible with regard to the various polish mentioned in my letter . . Yours sincerely M. A. Junah.

and new sees on Section the 14.1 that letter it was the first time he use written the word Pakistan out of quotation marks, or in any sense 4.1 may to seek every or and 4 may have accoraged Januah to a 1 m yas a kin, and we appare on the Mahat, as mad 44 any meteor and a self-word in a gene rather core as reply dark country that after moon.

Of course, I can quite understand that such a provisional interim gover ament will represent all parties. . I can quite understand 'l'a wher il ne extensione that hing may tolow at before we can don with this formula in a satisfactory manner I repeat again that, at it a your formula, you should give me a rough idea of the court of the court

Gaudh's letter to "Dear Qualithe-Azam" the following day began by which her the moment I have shunted the Rajap Formula and with your one also see an appropriate to make the second to Alice the second apart arguing "the Reschilton itself makes no reference to the two metions theory," width was, in any event "wholly unreal, I flaid no parallel to

history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation part from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of fiscancial mas remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large and of her children has so much then for the Maharman readities to recognize that wisten at had asted just one da. Candhis true feelings about that absorption one came journay orth and her acidic mage to Januah's momentary bopo of reaching a settlement may well be imagined.

It is my duty to explain the Labore resolution to you today and persmarte you to acc at 1" Jun ah repli d two days later "I have succession y s invested non-Mish a Indians in no small number and also a sarge in dy it tore mers, and all can convert on exercising as you do to rainder a infinone over thindulation (will be no small assistance on the locath not d. however that much of Gand'r's letter was 'a disquisition in her than genone weeing la fication," and recommended o Gord . not ser of books including one written is the intend onle length or B. R. Ambedk in We make a and hold that M stems and Hindus are two major nations of s deb tion or test of a nation. Jinnah said refer ing the arguments be ad made is 1940 to his Labore need fall bloom to the reag. The then concluded. "By all curves of international law we are a pation. . . . to pards our final paragraph of the op to Jeon that you represent noand what tudge I am convioud but the a wedge out it y " Muslims left of the rest of India Les - the air sion of India as proposed le Labore resolution. It is for you to consider whether it is not your policy and programme in which you have perested that has been the pran-- I be for of the is in it the whole of India and of meen and agradanon if the people to which you refer and which I de ilon no less into any £ 2542 38

Due one again the next day but the much our ed to ke had brought here to closer. Noting, was resolved, and no formula in again the oversioning gulf between them. The more I think about the two-nation the the more planning it appears to be," wrote the Mahatma to ha. "Dear the Arm Gout i travel that Once the prortiple is admitted there will be no unit to lamin for cutting ap lindia and memorous divisions. The sould be the last to lamin for cutting ap lindia and instead have the action of the last travel has been been provided in the court with the court wint of "All-Dinia" as he called India and its occasio "dependented the action of the last travel in the Millat and Her Ten Nations" was bloom to the Arm to "Boggan Nation May not house the last travel in the Millat and the travel had plantered in I March the Millat and the travel of the last travel in the millation with Mapa stantage on June 10. Mapa stantage on Mapa stantage on the Millation with Mapa stantage on the Mapa stantage on the millation with Mapa stantage on the

when would respectively represent the Muslims of Central India Bihar in Orissa Hindustan Rajastap, and Southern and 3.

Janah had not stars to so with Rahmat An or his proliferating plans for "saasia" vet many leaders of Congress besides Candro beared that mera seem trace of the two-nation theory or the give credence to such ten nation raidness Id fell on September 23 in 1944 and the "summit" was all bet over "In deference to your wishes," Jinnah wrote Candhi that boliday, "I tail very flat a this class, and in the course of our prolonged talks in a crospe dence to convert to but informately it seems I have I the Candhi agrees St Line asked [mail to give me in writing" what precisely "you would want me to put my signature to."

"It is not a case of your being asked to put your signature as representcase as and of the clother ourself with representative expact and are excellent the choice." There wrote back his soon can "We stand on as I have also say said, the lists and train and principles embaded in the Labore resolution of March 1940. Expected to you once more to revise your product of the proper of the subcontinuous and the welfare of the peoples of India demand that you should face realities."

Canch answered this with his longest stride toward Jinnah and the Lan a ne secretal to be a honge of heart on the Mahatmas part out a 1 and respective to the amost distanced fautient as a 1 and respective to the same and advantable processes the Lahore resouthon, . . You do not accept that the Muslims of India are a nation. . . You do not accept that the Muslims have an inherent right of self-eleterorination. . You do not accept that Pakistan is compared if the zones mostly a stand north each in aprinciples in provinces.

A right of purcores a concentration of the last result of purcore at a second result of the s

and next access to the ablanch details an arepro-

sentative" Gandhi's naked toes. He argued, therefore, at the end of his angry letter of September 25: "But now you have . . . made a new proposal of your own on your own basis . . and it is difficult to deal with it any further unless it comes from you representative capacity.

Who not then accept the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution and proceed to settle details. One Candhi requeed by asking Jonnah to think fifth tones before throwing awar an offer which has been made entirely in the splint of service in the cause of communal harmony. Its

I mush responded by rejecting all Gandh's overtures, inch ding his appeals to address the League council or open session, exally explaining that "only a member or delegate is entitled to variatipate in the declarations of the meeting of the Couras' or in the open session respectively. Besides, it is a most extraordinary and imprecedented unguest on to make. However, I thank you for your advice. I regret I have failed to convent out and convert you, as I was hopeful of doing mo.⁵⁶⁴

I contest I am unable to independ your possistent refusal to appreciate the fact that the Formula presented to you by me in my letter of the 24th as well as the Formula persented to you by me in my letter of the what is verbooled of the amount Responder. Candle persents it his final letter to Janaki a September 28. You was now a clog and I done accept certain these, while I have been controlling that the sex wifer its who after no our approach to the problem is to persent to the defend as it status and the Resouction and work it not our not advantage, on "as

"The Caneth J can had less are designing or and the lat at remore a that the law excess down." We are I reported to Americ "Gaudin as going to Mar His for his butthdar. We receive the fram collected to a monor of his wife and some proper think that a statement about his casession, with him a wife because from Murcha." "I peak in each he ones that ay I regret to say that I have failed in my task of converting Mr. Gandlath. . . . Nevertheless, we hope that the public will not feel embittered and we trust that this is not the final end of our effort." Gandha addressed a latter press corps at B ria Honse insisting.

The breakdown is only so-called it is an adjournment sine die Each of us must now talk to the public and put our viewpoints before them, ... My experience of the previous three weeks confirms me in the ... in the time to be presented of a land power boders the solition. A mind enslaved cannot act as if it was free. . The chief thing is to the first standard or make the materials provided the constant of the con

A handoo that own hard past the flow that as my inner value tells me." The next day Chadla told the Notice Chemicle to donibly

= the believed "Mr. Jinnah is sincere but I think he is suffering from hallicination when he imagines that an unnatural division of India could bring either happiness or prosperty to the people concerned."

Wavel, confessed to his journal, "I must say I expected something better, . The two great maintains have met and not even a rideculous in what emerged. The stire in ist blast Carich's regulation as a leader John I had an easy task, he merely had to keep on telling Canellu be was I thing nonecose, which was true, and he did so rather rudely, without the last of any of the wasnesses of his own position or define his wasnesses and the reason of the control of the wasnesses. The wasnesses with the stollowers, but the cannot add to his reputation with reasonable men."

16

Simla (1944-45)

As late as October 1944. Wavell tound it "difficult is believe that journal who whatever loss faults, is a logist late loger of a substrate that the two marins theory. Pakistan second is nebt has now more about a new to consider that the viceres had almost as well troub one it could be taking for about about the substrate of the substrate of the could be substrated in a substrate of the substra

Sir Francis Mudle, Home member of the viocroy's executive council, not with jurish to New Delhi of November 24 1944, with the vicens's semi-super and for all and the energy and alkalase. Junian said he Musle is wound at the second to employ and alkalase. Junian said he Musle is wound at the second not special hostility to a Representative Conference musured by Caseminent and said that he was as in 1946, prepared to take part in a Coalition Government at the Centre. The did not go into data? Joseph he charter than the charter than the same he was just proported to co-operate even if the Congress when the same. He was just prepared to do so. "Wavell rightly asspected that "Juniah may have got more out of Mudle than he care to be set."

Jamal and with War distribute the result of the values of and hard on the results of the results

parallel It was it possible from a practical point of view at had here fixed for the last 30 years and had completed framed a The viceros argued from a practical point of view and the "unity of India" are get about 1. British rule ought to be maintained, at least for security and economic purposes.

B may becominer 944. Beng as sext governor Richard G Casty had taken with energh leaders in amutta to conclude that Pakistan was more , matter of polica, shful thirking than a potentil relation Casis, hopen and M. Jianan wil compromise before Pakister datas a to a teger that he is now give He believed it are ld be eas, to wear? man Bargal Mart ns "own from the Pakistan dees" but was sens her to the risk of any of s being active to the a part san house wrote Wavell, seek ing viceregal approva. "The have that it he M is also on do be got to realise that he such sum of Creater Cale to be bakistan a account the rapids of I set the idea of Egyptor Pak's air would receive a prest took " ha zimild semice of Easter Pacisten seas ware well anch cover to the pieture of a adult immonorals sover go state" such as would be deed energy to singles at after 171 For New your and subraward s are las nost ther league V share acard to be a law the Broger. st to at "I are not. I alway to ed not the one in which this lates and relation would be a north and share the respectivity of the business at Covernment and all else is approximate peoplet an to their to be BUS

Pikistan a rate to canting a suspi an represented by it is the Yato office o constructor the stong," Wavel or god

I do not believe that Pakistan will work. It creates new interrity problems quite as bad as those we have now, and the Pakistan State or States would be economically unsound. On the other hand, like all comotional ideas that have not been properly thought out, it thanves on opposition. Some of the abort Muslims may regard it is a bargaining counter but for the mass of the Muslim League it is a real possible and has a very stong some and large of Williams and has a very stong some and large of Williams and has a very stong some and large of Williams.

by bon a where a wild so the troub all Decembers the stand to bon a where a wild so the best the standard of commerces a free city of his birth welcomed him with a burnquet on December 27 bible. There he arged the "Nhadim commercial community to be noted to ag," reminding them that "the economic position was one of the atrongest pil against a nation.

You have got us the Paktaling areas an

enormous field and enormous scope is you only sook around if only you will see them property and seize them." He had go is to Sind to putch up provential disputes between League premier Sir Chuiani Hassa n H davafullah and Mr. C. M. Sved disputes which had almost deposed the League's manistry. It was more a quest-up of a personal sower strength then ideale cas disputes but Jamah's resence was required to settle arguments ever manatry appointments and candidates for a elections. The round of contentions most ogs in Sun, left mill exhausten. Buck in Bombay onely in January Quant's Azar assent a statement on Suic concerning that "it is for the people of Sind now to build up in organisation as harmony coration and mt "15 Jamah as ted Almedabad n. mac Jaman and adfreezed the Gapara Must a Educational Corners a that was attended by il mainly of young Mislans from a over the Northwest. I was roosed ere la playar and sommet or told them. But I thouse myselt and forces and a strength and with from part or day they on and take ited out now the sit ation was different. As president of he has done Mis-I league be fold times a lines to a rivers and barely my time to accopt usulations. We have removed estage when we may direct and alkan so hur forces for the propose of some consideree scheme the establishment and a low many plat if my prop " A new sendol was born had on mout percel that Ec yeahon an motter of I found death to our nation."

A montes tone even in India's best weather left inn inp. (eversh, nor toe weak to attend the solud led Leugus comes it esting flat was to have seen field it. New Jelly lote y be man. He was obinged to ensee I in transfer agonghout holys are and March, incoming a school led useful with wave I and retreated behind the walls of his Midahar III.

One see y, in one and seep in calls. The vicer was teld in his finitely of pleurs, and has been a pleur and a pleur and the pleurs are sufficiently short letters such as this

I regret to inform you that it is not possible for me to indertake any public engagement for some time as I am ordered strictly to have complete rest... This breakdown was a senous warning to me and my doctw's advice is that in no circumstances am I to depart the new hards a senous warning to rest.

Candle also suffered a physical relapse in January 1946, and with both of these aging thans on their backs, the your ger leaders of Congress and J. L. see January 1946, and J. L. see January 1946, and J. S. see January 1946, and January 1946,

"Inform Government at Centre" whereby the League and Congress was deach choose and control 40 porcent of the cabinet, and each the remaining 20 porcent for Sichs and into whale to share while the vice roy and his continuous areas and into continuous were both assured by Desai that Jinnat and Gandhi "appreased" of this formula, but it remains unclear whether or not Laguadae exacts by these section with male and action of the section of th

The Desa Interpret forms a was however considered cofficiently in portant one ripe" to be argiven three there by Britain. War Call net which perfected Wavell to retrain trops comparing binneds to any new portant, and the comparing binneds to any new portion. The copy of a strength and ordered was nexteen home for comes consultants with the columnt and in it was reported to laste said be knew nothing of Desait scheme. If Before the end of Jauseury in fact, further orther the Associated Press that when has base taken to for a month or connecting the reasonable for with allowing the has base taken to the part was strained another see in stating present that the could go mantee the part, and orther has such as I have taken and perfect at an orthogonal reasonable as the orther present and orther has deeper the country of the order that it is a support of the order of the part of the order of th

Wite West I Amers and the council findled Bengal and India contributed in seria from attack were and bureascratic incompetence that ringed and after across the find Governor Cases acred least the the facility of the British convertation in his March. 1945 letter to the view roy, concluding that

In bengal at least atter a cent is and a half of British one we can point to no achievement worth the name in any direction. But she dam schalm as been! The or of the minute possible expenditure of put is many very on taxation and an expenditure of long maneys for developmental purposes. The result has been a pincible k policy under who, the resources and potentializes of Benga, have not been developed... a sufficienting system of red tape has ... throtteed initiative, and has created in the minds of the services from whom plans angle to have been forthcorning) a sense of frostration and stall-fi-ation?

Despite the eigency and sendon of closes crite is not given as of a about the problems be noted. Verwell never so much as answered his letter Before the crite of Marie Notes to the critical structure of a management of an area of the critical structure of the critical structure ment of links and a list of the Convenience of links the critical structure ment of links are at lists.

In mid-March the Muslim League's ministry in the North-West Frontier Province under Aurangzen Khan also lost a vote of confidence and gover nor Six George Caramigham barned to Congress leader Dr. Khai, Sal to o ask if he wanted to try forming a government with ministers drawn from his own party A "sealed letter" was reportedly sent by Gandhi from los Wardha ashram to the frontier apparently instructing klass Salis I is ceps the governors in table 200 for he first tany reover for eres after all the Congress one realisation good to 939, the Congress part in a returned to provincia responsibility-in Peshawa. Janual was p. 11 personal trach made it impossible for in it to journey to the contien Seend months earner he had been requisted a goody it came to buy and fact it as League stepte to me as he had no Sand. Loss up to you lit may that on here o not your horse in order Quardy Azan had as a League president In Anim December 1914. The Control doct on tost to help and guide, but the root is in the Province itself, and it is there-accorner bose was independed and create on the real and are due amongo our people " I'me advice et ane nor, o a er a the as that brought the League moretty to a knew long or he that less handarf event ter Campiess Mps p. s. Ter provide to the in a copted allier browing awas a little from the first to the com with James declarated in his Pakistan Da mist ported on a that March 23.

this tool possible to be even the arts Missar and the issue of the solution of

Tenabe you have the service of the line you as these of various, and strongly a service of the line of the service of the serv

I see powers working around us and nor enemies are active in their us go forward undanated fearless, without faltering. I have my finger on the pulse of Muslen India, and I leed confident that an errore of Musleman will send as one man at any critical morteed and I not be a set. I have a set of the uponed on the pushed by those to power this behalf as willen nor group. I shall a flat, we shall wented

Wavell flew out of Delhi on March 20 and arrived in London three days after Amery had suggested "a small dinner party at 10 Downing Street" to Churchi to "welcome" his viceroy bome, but the prime minister coldly re-We needing with him has softer be purch officia. Addressing Il Is a Cabinot's India committee charged by Atthe Wavell respected It was a choose his executive council from among In ias postical leadist it are rigithal there was a steady point a deteriorate and it worsenand the monthstrative one die general position in the reported that Canill at seventy five was "a fairly sick man, who according to some reports or on hink consecuted for a few minutes." Wave adject "handles for of he Mas up along those made and that I had been "reporting on the change of government in the North-West Frontier and the League met. s a S of Assau and the Phapab He also promied the cab net that Ithnan "was not very fit, though his brain was as active as ever." And since 1 . A wastel and be could tot say how helpe's more was week ng but thought he was still bitter and . . . in the Congress he probably in a tile the port call lists Wing but not the such stria sty from which that are live to flad at support "

If a it is a cell and there is government as good before it or her or it is a count. When a method when a count we will define the second of the count of the cou

"This is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settlemen," the viceroy announced in his New Delhi broadcast on June 14.

If it Majerity's Covernment had hoped that the leaders of the Indian particle of the particle of the Indian particle of the particle of the Indian particle of the theory of the community of the original of the birst the times which the time to the last not been fulfilled to be the the times which the fortherming conference, and the particle of the last of the l

Wavel reserved a sinte for Jianah at Simla's Cocil Hotel, aiviting him to the viceregal Index for a private meeting on the evering of Jiane 94 before the scheduled official opening was, in, of the Simla contenence he next morning. Jianah ac epited he mivitation but sug, such a two weeks post-pointment of the contenence to give Jianah are to come this Wirking Committee on the "cianah attains" he hoped to receive from the viceroy concerning contenence proposals during their private and the viceroy concerning contenence proposals during their private and the viceroy concerning that the during the line of the line without leave.

"Gandhi and Jimah are behaving like very temperamental prima donnas." Was historied his fourna in ridd in a "and in after a publishing tas tenggrams in the Press bettom leven veryore them. Can in at leas, and the outles to lask whether laggered o sublication. In The General was legitimize the recourse that his is about topes for a soft-ement were less remarke than he had assured fir time, a met they were Or Jine 24. Wavel, not in the press presid in A advicer time, seels Ca allocated not in the species presid in A advicer time, seels Ca allocated and make it was he first conversation with he Malstein with was after vages and discurrey, out or the whole gave is blessong to the proposals. If As Cane in left the viscong I holge Jin. It arrived a specie are house and all all about with the viscong I holge. Jin It arrived a specie are their control and a latt about with the viscong I holge.

for a Water Hoffic alls ups sed the Smalls conference at 11 00 A.M. Of July 25. 945 Tweeze two port alleaders of India assembled a the postfrom of the variegal lodge. Price that Azad spoke for Congress, \$1055 is to rangement the character. Jinnali spoke next for he bright and and trade points are largely tree pt a treatmental proposals" ealing than the streets to address I well exclusive and those "On the ting of the Congress parts a said that there was nothing in the proposals to take I as a canad anal o gamesation. Wa rel reported to Amera I is > 3 den 1 b re but the gress represented on a Hardes of stall month to 1.1 kt of Sat brook icheology objection. I for an dittal Congress repseem to meet as and both Congress and Junuti new new ans " Juna house to select the hat first meeting adjointness insisting the I clear while not agree to a constant on a cept an age transformatal at 12 d Pakista. The Length in the west carm he are ed. minedaato concession of Pakistan as a prior condition to any cooperation, yet he was willing to participate in this sort of conference thanks to his faith in to the first and all to a sittle Graces mer and people really wished to give a fair deal to British India." Wavel, felt much relieved and concluded that night that his "Conference has got away to a resister on start

On the more ug of June 29 the conference reconvened and the vicerov asked a liparty enders to send him panels of names of candidates for his new council Aza; read his agreed. Lit Junuals retured, arguing that he could not subnut any list defore consulting as Working Committee. And so the conference adjourned until July 14.

Waved speces or now and a hart arguing with Jinnah on the evening of Jith 3, which better where we negate, he to socied. He was old onto that has better where we negate, he to socied. He was old onto but a high state of nervous tension, and said to me more than once; I am at the end of one ettain, he has said. I ask you and to wrock the League. He is chousely in great all these but they are largely of his own making by an arrogan a and intense gence. He tears now to be made the scape, of for the facts of the Conference and yet will not give a partition of his class to represent d. Most 5 the title one of their meeting Jinnah still refused to ham ever a stot cand dates that Waved had requested for his commit at left binself o our boxe. See hist of a effect from the vice rough at left in the see what it was be a ted. That letter more the next day and it had placed the over his Working Committee on July 9, 1945.

I fully appreciate your difficulties, but rogret that I am unable to give you the guarantee you wish, i.e., that all the Muslim members of the proposed lew Council start necessarily to members of the Muslim League. I have to attempt to form an Executive Council representative, competent, and generally acceptable. It will help me greatly from will let me have manes. I asked for eight, but will certainly accept the fryon of not wish to send more. The council results are countries of the first open of the first of the firs

"The Cam in the lafter giving its very careful consideration to the matter" Juriah in p. - 4 the same way "desires me to stair that it regions very run about 9,000 the assurance that all the Mustim League the Committee considers this as one of the trindamenta pains gles and, in the error austances I region I am not in a position to send the names. It is not possible for us to depart from our fault, which is a single pass.

Dr Join Matthai of Madras University later Nehrus private secretary was to have been the council's sole Indian Christian, thus bringing the total to sixteen with the vicercy and his commander-in-chief.

The Bi usa causet, seing rather permisket "as ansisted that Wave I stalling and first and self-am the names of the Musicai memores he promote the propose and to "first personal Jimouh" to put forward those names as to specify's lat. Good soldier that he was Musell net with Jimouh in J. Jr. 11 man again to after his position. He retused even to discuss "anos in as to comba he given to a asolute right to select all Musicas and some parameter that any decision which he Musicas of used a Comaca could not passed by a rivershoot which he Musicas of used a Comaca could not be passed by a rivershoot majority in early kine of comaca could not be passed by a rivershoot majority in early kine of comaca could not the passed by a rivershoot majority in early kine of comaca could not the niteral wiends. If The vaccious saw famuli as hour after an told of the mother new breakdown Gainean took the news and but is, and the Musica spoon of view a new the were preconcluble.

The after finding a Wax Lo Sinda, conference served only to make the orange to communal distance that make index key poor in the make the Many Beauth offs take expected that the south war war of a normalist power servite League look his president position is to a south a power servite the League look his president position is to a look a look of the conference of the south of the services the land. At the look a south of the conference of the south of the look of the conference of the land is steen that takes made for ed lading were different in the south of the conference of the c

to my offerty to my laster inderstanding to very a similar and have shown how wide is the gulf," noted the weary Wavell Will their line time more good or any by the ng, or y tare with any in the right formed in a tast where an issue," and his final assessment of the Quad-3-Azam was, "narrow and arrogant and actuated mainly by fear and distrust of the Congress must be formed to the final assessment of the page 3. If the other and the congress must be formed to the final and the nature of the other and the congress of the other and the other and

And when the standard for the control of the Musician Control of the Musician Control of the Con

or resis od. Amery himself had, however just fought and lost his last election campaign. Britain's postwar Labour landsade brought Attlee and his mit to hover with a resounding majority of 200 n the House of Commiss. We are the vicero's learners, that his new master in Whitehall was to be faire Pethick-Lawrence. 1872, 2661. Is no all reaction was to 'fear he have fixed and old fashioned. Leas derived mainly from Coopiess contests. I That very day in early argust of 1945, however a more avesome to some at Heroshima managerates an age that was to accelerate the pace at least language. World War It to a lens within the week and hustling that his poor of its duep ruts of stately hureaucratic stagnation.

17

Quetta and Peshawar (1945-46)

The attermath of the Sunia conference debacle was a governors meeting in New Delbero by Wavel and Wing at death their nat public a nove A precelections, most agreed, whe now may red but the total survey and Cancy argued engorously against any elections to un reconstructions ang emberous could be called a crosse the solerand patts s of Pekistim. Unics the Missan Longie could be steered away to the or di version it e distant he transferd, there were I is eits, war in his Principal and me - hate Central existions might consolictors the Missley Long south to a " thates leared that Punta. Mislons would vote on what might appear to them supply as a rengine come and his concerns reserved & cour's deepest cor hepsions as . Bengal's gravemor on excel that now of air acting Mr. are comed explain to the last resur tagy ta , for back on larged or of the said hat juna was sat sheet hat Pay that was econe ments sound therefore it must be so. 2 Casey thought are an important actor who he would dithat I much me, less read 500 and an acted that the Takistan idea might go to pieces withou har

There are only two major parties in this country." Jinnah insisted, relation Nebra stamps 193 original is his first public pronouncement in the har theory. The suma conference "Tavitations issued so Mr Gandh I was fiver so the bases that Mr Candh was the recognised by the one of the series and insist the exercise of the other. The British of the paster but major if it is with an action of the other the British of the paster but major in the control of the other than the first of the other than the first of earth of the public has been at Nuggoric he had risen from the dust of agrooming to stamp erect at the other tonic of the other than the ot

nab seemed or to obsessed with Gandhi and his behavior, manutely examining and questioning all facets of his activity

When it suits him, he represents nobody, he can talk in individual capacity, he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress, he undertakes fast to deed the poatra, issue he red cas hunself to zero and consults his inner volce, yet when it suits him, he is the supreme dictator of the Congress! He thinks he represents whole of India. Mr Gandhi is an enigma. How can we come to a bettlement with here here was semant venous a destre rese against far hissions and the Milliam Long at that the Congress were prepared to any length with any any claves first to him were down hum, into and as a rage the boars in Langua and every member was alleged to but a Science a said to be read as a rage the boars in Langua and every member the second was to see Mustlim League agnored and by-passed and for that purpose, they stropped to the lowess point that they threw up their principles to the winds.

Many of the number lent fears processes no punishs usual then were by green as see. In thoughts of Gardh, the whom he assumed a new min bitationess, and what to Junal were traitive most two most objected as "to have endown by minute accordance and by a contribution of said, then whether a new bodget and by a contribution to his sense of the minute of the many or more painful to his sense of the minute of the figure of

To fill the Leagues creation was cleek. Jurnali spoke agoin in Aug istable from the construction of the co

"The Labour Party is, of course, both by its convictions and by its public atterances, committed to do its introduced of the problem writer. Define known of the line is the letter. If feel sure that my confeagues will welcome your proposal to hold elections, which I am supporting to them in a paper which should be considered.

fragette wife at 1928-27 served as a member of the Round Table conference in 1931 and was the most empathetic master of the India Office to Indian national aspirations since Montagu or Morley.

Glance did his best to dera, orly elections, fearing Pakistan yet finding that throughour the Miskow districts of the Puntaly since the Sindia conference [13, aid) stud has been standing very high. He has been haded at the champion of brain. I must moves that a an gravely perturbed about the situation because there is a very serie is dauger of the elections. Inglifught is, far as Musians are concerned on an entire of fisce is and. The renationed Muslim will be told that the question he is called on to answer at the policy of the viole that the question he is called on to answer at the policy of the viole that the question he is called on to answer at the policy of the viole of the between mannified and it attach. Utakistan becomes an almost on the standard we staid the heads straight for bloods and on a wide scale non-Mindians especially Sikhs, not beeffing they will not suit in peacefully to a Government that as alled Misharonidan Baq. No Fig. som on so crearly foresaw the coalled implications of the partition of he Puntale vet Gausey's voice of the internal his ded up either in the varified corridors. With teach

On Sugar 20 145 Wavel was not all some or considerion with he en cal not and amfore d to annumer that it ions would be held In sugrecular is a find a during the next cold weether." Bet ire leaving I he he species sent Petick I was not les appears gradysis if the I lister prob to first a dair og that a lat Changy had writter about the I dod not tren window wheth apply to Broga. "but the laman sace him he terms a send the Science who were the releast a tag Palipab 1.1 we are veet a work, light rather than see their He hand pass a speciment Mid-rate" He there, it disc seeming paralox that proof for the Pakistan iden was much stronge among Muslims in Ma a superit or a new that on the Pakistan Provinces" Wavell rea hat he had always hoped to be able a seed" are full-scale ped to the teasthirty and mple ations of Pakistan, since he antici-I I have all ever of the cott such a conference or commission and it the respective of leg" He felt however that continuing regnore the possibility of its birth would not make Pakistan fade away

I reduce the property of the end of August and found Perhack to the sixth self of asset are annalised was up to welcome thin home and mater with hom to Claridges. They conferred in Whitehall the text day for an liquid and half. Two days later Wavell met with the latest day for an liquid and half. Two days later Wavell met with the latest day for an liquid and half. Two days later Wavell met with the latest day for an incomplete the latest day latest and latest day late

Pakistan, at least "in principle" Wavel's own judgmen was that "I made spoke for 95 per cent of the Musim population of India in their apprehension of Hindu domination. . . . The real strength of Mr Jinnah's position was the widespread and genume fear among and an Muslims of Hindu domination and Lindu, as "There has been a viery great harming" in the positions of the India purses since 1942, the viceron argued and his saw no readiness on the part of any party in India at present to a cept the Copin offer. As for the Constituent Assemble Muslims would boycoit at how size Pakistan issue was empetable. Yet the consents that issue might lead to "a boycott by the Hindus."

Except for Att or who had less and less time for India as prime minisor Copps and Petrack Lawrence were the one caused aendors to conin the solves at a wall ludge affairs at the fire and Crops could in a friends Hill and Naho, right in downgrading flanghs nower or and the Nord I ake wave ver ser us . Warel on the other hand to ring from reports of late's age Nource syreches that Congress was per ig a of its avoil and up a structure of with the government in a sout aroughly toward I mad and the VI I m League who might I've it in its only of es in the coming striggle for power. So less to in a signed of a superfect of the a and its strong states interest in at a low restrict to complex policial problems thus, about he 1 coversors same astone has not the Copies after at 1543 and another if he are a retirit in ges wrough a three teaching reals self they it stong that "If the force, in etcolorish of their were not and the point the responsibility would be thems. Wavell and I' were a abelief to the program a heart a to seek a better was is the min find a that Coreat Britain's new justicear policy was the same old Cripps position. The vicoroy met with Churchill on the eve of the reast a epictual for Lake Como and was shocked to learn tal the reason "Clare I had agreed a my polytical gove the fast Stille Conference] was that the India Committee had all told him it was 11 1 to to 1 11

O Quetta where the dry ood, air was thought to be best for his lungs. His way a saw at least the same where a his mode, he vission Language II is a least to the same where a his mode, he vission Language II is a least to the same that are the same to the same his same to go at India, and the sole platform of the Longue was Pakistan. Juniah began to act ske the head of a separate nation, moreover, he wired Atthewat this time to properly any so coming of Britains had no Jewish refugers being and that had belesting, warning the prime infiniter. It is my daily to Information at the language way of the least to the same as the same and the same as the same and the same as the same and the same as t

deeph resented and vehemently resisted by Muslim world and Muslim India and its consequences will be most disastrous.***

With Janual obliged to remain in Baluchistan too weak to travel during the 1st5 campaign. Liaquist A. and other Working Committee members of the Central Parliamentary Board and Committee of Action actually ran the Maslan League from its New Della head justices and tocketed candidates. Much provided controvers: sickering, and backeting ensued especially in Bengal, Sind, and the North-West Frontier. In and September Sir Firoz Khan Koon had resigned his defence seat on the sucrous oxicilities occurred to return home to the Punnas. Lampaign there as a League candidate, but a count later wasel reported to Pettack Lawrence that Sir Firoz Thas not been interestally welcomed and I don't if the Pirity there for the Punnash's assumed and cordul as a might be. The Mislim League have always suffered from lack of organization as compared with I congress and if they want their time in airsona, quarters, hey may suffer at the polls."

Pakistan is the juestion of life and death for us," Jimah told a piblic meeting in Aloredahar that food week in October stopping on his way have to Bondan to pick by a check to 200 of meet collected from Lagran Mushum. "I had asked for silver hallers to fight the close on campa an and Almostahad had responded next to Bondan which was a richer in ... All Mushum believed in one God and were one nation. They wanted Pakistan and would attain it. It was their amulet their charm with the difference their stronger and give. The noon of Pakistan and hining and we shall reach it." The assured the cheering crowd.

On November 2 Jamah predicted a Musian League "sweep" at the tacking a reporter from the Associated Press that according to the pression of th

Crippe now advised the Cabinet committee to send a parliamentary to the control of the control o

response a hence Labours Pethick Lawrence and Craps resolved to the superoy in religion of the rusged policied road toward India's independent rule, rather than allowing him to bolt off on any smoother martial

INNAH OF PARISTAN

Weed, however was using a patience with Indian growing political or jills are windows to please. His sciences become more our points of the procession and corression settled deep inside the againg marshines soul, as he had earlier noted at a journal entry of mid-November 1845. Think this evening from U.P. It was the dullest rour I have done, tiring, an stress of the process of t

Most or Wave is Jupression, and that it his connarader methef. Genera Atchmeck, as well as most of the senior British martial and civil ers in focus at this time was renediately associated with the passome) he are raised against British one that New ober as some as in is a correct Schles Boses Inc. p. Nat. m., Arms, were brought t is in a sign of New Year's Red Part Bose and died a a plane reach on as a time of us a ling he repairs on Huids one Maxim and or Saf all was transfer sors ag a the British as was Sugarone sain depth, our could have as national heroes. Net re. Black has area and I. Bab, it her visit boot to after Bose's officers with rought hence reports are to be haved as petrots throughout the ad in his whome is tricular a sof potes raged leaving over to a discount and an entles appears a major to be stand in is the there is a got indeed as must Bertish officials real and hat they had made a terrible mistake in giving the Indian National Army so rived publicity and so prominent a platform.

Granm. Sir Caurile Auchinleck in a top secret letter to Wavell on No-

The evidence reach up us now increasingly goes to show that the general opto an a the Army (as opposed to that of certain units and at a viduals who have particular reasons for billerness) is un favour of femency. If you agree to the case of the present trials, the serious of the annual trials and the present trials are the state of the present trials and the serious of the present trials.

 played no part in the great that of the indian National Army, though the League associated itself with the detruse since, as British Intelligence opined, the τ_{to} of Musams may make their effect increasingly feat on the Muslim Public and League alike τ_{to}

For the first time since 1936, Jianah journeyed to the frontier to campaign for a week. He addressed a Musiar League conference in Poshawar on November 24, 1945; "We have no friends. . . Neither the British, nor the Hundus are our friends. We are clear in our own minds that we have to fight against both of heir H Loth Dring Bamas are combined against as we still not be atrial of them. We of a fight their a dealing is also Inshaallah win in the ind "he When Jim place I he road is the wanted Paraman or not their maswer came it destering shocks of Allano-Ak ar reced is Creat. To we Pairs at he asserted their all they had to do was to you for the League candida es. Then he second codepsive squeus emate. That Horans lask What are the worthers of M. I male and the Mashan League 'It is one that I have not a reto a Nover rithe, and a had pe son Bul I ask you. Whe had sacrifices in 1020-2 2 Mr Can to words the with them of leaserst pea or stalks. They last ware menticance assists revealing I means for an gardinar resulting orche worst thought has not tend by when it a tends, pipe one to have felt We Candle store on his "small to ascend the theore of Cangress national

In Carrotta Cases was beside himself with fe strational lear in the Lead the pro-lindar National Asia mots has a title to live and I ande la wounder, and on it wiecked the at Benga's governor met with Cane in Calcuta with the decrebe and topo ec. o Wavel that Lis publica, reasoning lacked reason mic. aliance it owners caren was on on Exercise. A new constrails Case told Conde that was was studies to the war of so given a for End " a is not the Br sh bu ne Marin for the was suffering troop, adoptional angest aged full Congress whom I make a malshe approximent of a substantial sholl the ide that the territory out of the construction of Mashans or blue the ege of I see and suspenses Could responded that to of our led to these requires a linear were constantly nused his price" until he reached what in essence was Pakistan, and the bill to a mit ne as and it some Gradle asso told Cases that "he believed Jinnah to be a very ambitious man and that be had visiom of linking up the Moslems of India with the Moslems in the Middle East and elsewhere and that he did not be give that he could be italders off has decause "FR

The League won all thirty central amenably seats (one of them Janual's,

that December a standing victors that validated Itmah's prediction and adjusted to prove the universal appear of Paustan among Missians of the archamater. Congress though I retained a majorato of fifty five actually lost four seats. The first round was over The "day is not fair off," Jinnah 1 omised his jubilised tourowers "when Paustan shall be at your feet. **
He directed more criticism and sarcasm at Nehru, mocking him as "the in pitt our Pandit who accur university are earns anothering and never grows him nothing but Peter Paus.**

Pethick-Lewrence wrote to Jinnah and Azad to inform them of the 1 minary delegations torthcoming visit and asked if they would once a series by a control of Jinnah and the terms of the section of Ly Landaux Professor R. R. hards in New Delho on Jin 2, 1946 here days context Jinnah had taken with Wavel for an end of Ly Ly at a roles to a low Landaux or never set. Wavel, shows now the sections of any of Ly are counts to participate in each ingest thous a landaux of the section of the participate of any of the section of the sec

4. I provincial corrient earlinguis teatres up reports of H mad ST I mile and of horsebous appropriate expectors in the Pringal of the states tell alamener and concrete they that it would sissess of an another pend of period argonations to the view or one and all a less than a cobract secon to India was required to roun is Harr Mala been such Three masters with The art way order to a data same lessone de secretary et state a mild have in the ent and induce processing and extreme up to and somethican March Time me the distant as mass in light and read final cord in the the sall says species outs rag lines lass distants I have a south me of films and thousand the on a one In an might even derir mit ibes precess (or at a clinic National trop tend september on a consister the not are need from neers storated agrees the total corber of these it is to others so it is any representating use on more ord a gots exister their option of retring on the pensions, such morne becomes tile ti ne ieft.

Lat cubin in rules of Lembert to Section 2. Compared to be stored at the additional type of the Lawrence, and the stored at the Compared to the Congression of view and not quite "straight" in his "coefficial" among those magis and considered Cripps "soil to the Congression of view" and not quite "straight" in his "coefficial" A month before the call not putton and to fulfill the parkamentary delegation led by

Richards returned to 10 Downing Street to report what it had found. Most members agreed that some form of Pak stan would have to be concededand the sooner the better. Mrs. Mariel Nichol, who admitted that she began her visit to India "impressed b" the strong necessity of main aiming no mits of India sound the Panish expressive. The Mishm population there was "all worked up in favour of Post state" sac concluded and therefore it "most be consider." She believed areal would indite its demand at on yet the "principle were granted "at an early stage "28 Br gadier Austra Low felt it "would be understrable that H. M. C. should make a declaration I favour of Taxistan" by agreed that it might a necessary but feared tax slan is not a viable proposition." M. P. Reginald Surviya: "reginard Pakistan as while print out he was not sure that Mr. Justia. on he as regarded as a rational person. Let an as view meess, in "Mr. Ar mar Bot simples the north Pakistan my the glit to hald in necessar nowand wide stead bloodshed is to preserve our own trade adopted to for whereas the stong tendence in the Congress paper? Provinces was to borentt trade with the Lofted Kongdom, the Missions were enger to do business with us ""R

Pethode Lawrence's brill and prevate seer thry. Francis Ternbull true, in potential after the control of the last of seet the control of seet the control of the seet the seet

The division of India will be born in bitter antagonism and it will cert a by be tash to asseme that the set limit be performed in the performance of the end of the

I spear I India's problems crought brought familie o most of tae of the obsentioned ad grain so stage, were storage of the content of the obsention of the obse

th" was w despresse. The average Indian's rationed diet provided no met that a 200 calones, fewer than half the numeric requirement for nor little visit at var. 22

On February 18, 1946, most of the sailors in the Boyal Indian Navy in a Larbor were a since for ingles usiges. The next can 5000 or the matheers, as the Botish considered from marched around Born

for ng. C s of housands of arden, street supporters. The Cangress fing flew from both the H.M.I.S. Taluar and the H.M.I.S. Lahora, as well as run the late of many jub lant sailors, who called themselves members of the LNN (Indian National Nary), in emulation of Bose's LNA. (Indian National Nat

of 88 Mushin seats, a clear mandate for Pakistin among Mushims of the province their ghinot enough voits to allow the League to form a ministry one lace Sx. Camper's support by Stad to League to glet was entire some, with 28 out of 34 seats, while in Assam though even a heighten percentage of Mushim League candidates won (31 out of 34). Com-

who may I out of 19 Mustim seats. The League lost body on the fronter, will only if out of 39 seats. The averall provincial tally gave the

Compared to the lift that mappiness with a great various and the many managements and the second against the lift and the lift of the March 23.04 Major Woodrow Wyatt returned to India with the analysis of the second again, various the first corner of the Major Men of the second again, various the first corner of the Major Men of the second again, various lift at home in New Delhi on the method with the second again, various lift at home in New Delhi on the second again, various lift at home in New Delhi on the second again, various lift and the second again to the second again, various the second again to the second again to the lift and the second again to the second again to

March 28.5 Camps met with french for an hoor on the atoming of March 30. "He was calm and reasonable but completely firm on Pakastan." As a result of that conversation, Jianah agreed to invite Gandhi to meet him. As was so often the case at the start of previous negotiations, Jianah s opening absture was suppresingly cord at and disaming a reasonable.

Gandhi appeared before the Mission on April 3, "naked except for a dhoti and looking remarkably healthy." Wavel reported

Air Gandhi said that he had passed 18 days with Mr Jinnah He claimed to be a sincere friend of the Muslims but had never been able to apparente the Pakissan which Mr J ab sacs action in the Pakistan as in which be (Mr Gandhi) would not commit. The substance of Pakistan as he understood it was independence of culture and a legitimate ambition. . The two-nation theory as far more dat general The Muslin population as a product of on one

all descendants of Indian-born people Jamah is sincere but his logic is utterly at fault especially as a kind of mania possesses him the himself was called a maniac and he therefore homoured Jinnah for his mania. . He asked Jinnah whether his own son [Horilal Can L. wl. r. r. d gone over to the Mus. ii r. gin changes I statematity by duing so. . . Let Mr. Jinnah form the first Government and choose is presented from letted server reves at a covery. The Viceroy would appoint them formally but, in fact, Mr. Jinnah would choose if he does not do so then the offer to form a Government must be absolutely national. Mr. Jinnah could choose who he liked I mas Gavernment The would be such to the the site of he Asson-Day from anterther were drawn?

these Lawrence interrupted Candh, at this point to note that Jimah's color limit accordingly of the assemble scales where he will be to provide over a government most 4 whose hinsters belonged to the other than he over Goodle so that was "inserpaler". The class of still period out the Jimah's government would in that a reliable to be predominantly Hindul. Mr. Gandh said he did not underrute the difficulties of the situation which the Delegation had to face. If he is read an irresponsible optimist he would despair of any solution.

Jinnah arrived for his interview the next morning at ten and spoke to the man or three hours. To which at least two were, to my mind," noted that the last two were, to my mind, "noted that the last two were to my mind, "noted the last the last two were to my mind, "noted the last the last two were t

Poth ox Lawrence and Cripps both modeled Jimmh on questions of defines and "anstan a fine ability from the Northwest transfiller to the normalization of the first part lefs structure with oxlient for all parties concerned; but Jimah stood bits ground on a totally a go I as star and demonstration that the stign for tenach, or his ad-

vocacy

Notice was on tour in Southeast Asia at this time, his visit to Mulaya with great sopular success, thanks in no small measure to the warmth of our lime light Manufactures there in all the other species of a visit of the control of the visit species of them was smalled to a

It is notificial reported to the India Office. "He was a little scornful of the advantage of the activities, and a there the extension of the sower is start a revolt in India if he did not secure Pakistan... "Jionah's to fill, 'rather real ads one of the man who was charged with the murder of his mother and begged the elemency of the Court on the groot I that he was an orphan." ""

the set of received him to secure deadle barreied so at or, for the control of a co

against their will." There would have to be some form of treaty drawn up between these two "independ or sovereign States" to deal with essential econe constructions of defer se, foreign policy and communications with to both nations. Since now was runn up out Cripps proposed presenting the details of these two achieness of the enders of all run or parties, massing that willing a few was sither both; the mission of that ingo so to accept either plan A or plan B. "If neither of the plans meets with general acceptance", we must recommend that the one which has the greatest to time of support is immediately acced upon than gother general acceptance we shall see all or influence to put through that schould when has the greatest measure of sep nor "to

Another week of Interviews contributed little to what the mission had almost learned but leaped refine their ofter after schellers, which were used destricted but leaped refine their often accordance in interview with limits we had 20 or interview press printography is tring from it in the and seriously not falling business. We self-expected 1 dishke his modern obviously not falling business. We self-expected 1 dishke his modern race for pilhers in 1 mol 1.8 Wavely and serious lad each depaced east on his west of tacking funds, in the contribution to his missing of the Pethick anisonal special the serious of forward funds that had not dished anisonal to layer to have to dished anisonal to layer to the letters much dished anisonal funds with a final and the letters much dished a his dished a new Most is via a final and the letters much dished anisonal funds with a final and the presentation of the letters are dished anisonal funds with a final and the presentation of the letters are dished anisonal funds with the white of the presentation of the letters there are the presentation of the letters there are the very good which is all values and funds there are large to the presentation of the letters there are the presentation of the letters.

Mr. Landi asked him Pakistan came in order to proposed a Tadia finous," the secret record of that interview reported.

The Secretary of State said that brook, there were two propositions—

I small has stare with sovereign rights and a Treaty relation and a
larger Pakistan. . . The latter would come together with Rindustan
on terms of equality within an all-ladia Union. . . . Sir S. Cripps
and that under the second alternative two Federations would be oreated linked by a Union Centre. . . The communa, balance would
be retained at the Centre by some means even if the States came in
there Mr Jinnah asked how the Union Executive would be formed
Str S. Cripps said that the Federations would choose the members of
the Union Executive. Mr Jinnah saked how if there were equal rep
recentation, decisions were to be reached. . . . Sir S. Cripps said
that . . . responsibility would go back to the two Federations if
agreement could not be reached. . . . Mr Jinnah represend Jonk it

C. Mr Jinnah represend Jonk it

have to be decided every day to regard to detence From what had

been said he had not been able to get anything which would exable him to say that the Union idea was worth considering. . . . Mr. Jinnah said that no encount of equality provided on paper was going to work. . . . Would there, for example, be equality of each community in the Services?

The Secretary of State said that Mr. Jinnah seemed to be turning to the other alternative and asked Mr. Jinnah's views on that Mr. Jinnah said that none the principle of Pakistan was conceded the question of see the sty of Pakistan could be discussed. His claim was for the stefferwices but he was willing to discuss the area. . . He could not possibly accept that Calcutta should go out merely for the sake of 5 or 6 takes of Hindus (largely Depressed Classes who would prefer Pakistan) most of whom were imported labour. The Secretary of State said he wishout to emphasize that the Delegator did not consider that either of these two alternatives would be readily acceptable to the Congress. . . Mr. Jinnah said that he thought will research that the Congress show to lose nothing. The units of lutter was a rooth?

famel's legal acromoss providinger than Perback Lawrence. Cripps of Alexander could only to though all three was British oral as rese, their boot

Final "the Secret is of State suggested that Mr., anali should than the mitter over further. After the Delegations return to the Novel in parties Mr., and would, at them know as pointen." Round Our was over I am thrown as a most down but one have no points before the best sounded giving him at circles, it is also need rest.

18

Simla Revisited (1946)

Masterful leader that he was Jimah marsha ad las forces, tightening his exploration award area of las coults one reason being but the regulations with the rabuse mission 4 in why elected Mashin Lengue legislators from procured and count assembly simustered to Delli, the og early April 1980 take and sign someon dedges "in the some of that he Beneficent to Marshall declarate, the records con that "the satists and security, and contact on and declars at the Mesh. Nation about a security, and it of ladia less only in the arbovement of Pakistan is and serving as I do it the rightness and the nation of my couls. I preage resent to detgo an diagree trust or sacrifice which may be a many did acc."

That plotte was reasonable, attenue is every elected representative of the Mixim League areads; and chiera. Armod with tiose promissor, is on the life every Morani League leade. In Brit shilling, Quadra is revenified the followers. We have nade a so one declaration in this in and bestor. Convention, that while we hope for the best we are prepared for the worst.

The ext said Bengal's Subrawardy, moving the podge resolution and night. "We want to live in peace. We do not intend to start a civil war, nit we want a land where we can live in peace. . . . I have long pondered there is a Modern as prepared to fight Let me hones; y declare that the live is a gas is call an prepared to as down his re", and turning to Quadrid-Azam he domanded. "I call upon you to test us." His land of live is a live is local that currently and live is a live is local that currently is a live is local to the own that there own the discourse is the currently and he turned toward his great leader, sitting on the pactform in

ne Anglo Arabic Hall wearing a cream-colored sherwari white shotwer, or regal fur cap, young, "We will avid own our lives for Pakistan."

The Punjabs nawar of Mamdot raised his mighty right arm as be spoke 'We are asked how we will detend Pakistan I would say that if s attaint so diens of the Purias could defend Brit in against Nazi aggressor hery co- also actend near own hearths and homes." From the Yorthto of 1-on or rose Parkar season Khan Abdu. Qayvum Ahan "amade to a torons appla se" to shout "Thank Cou, we have one flag one leader, the potentiand one ideal Pakistan outgle for We are on waiting for a me after o do whatever a considerer in conserv for the attainment of Los at Youth Sprin She mat the a Khan was there to assure his the a sease "I speak for the Pun all sources and I so that the comparers is her explicate soldiers is he Penal are plottged to achieve Paki sit. Yit so are holding is there and we hoght you to give the wait if my after prome the doc my how we call and now we mea-I defend a lake and More restrained per un in the was order Ser rea klin Noon said. Neather the Haman ner the British know vel it as we in examilating property to arbieve takestan. We are on the realist it agent tenged, "4

While we a fighting for what are we among at "Jimah asked his line is all fivers a country after they pleaged but ther all as an income a country of term a dream to find hance that the edge of a of or since

W Vivilens have got exerctly and makes the ligenest capacity and it is of her his fractions, and makes the two things are lack to the first of the color of the first his formation in the color of the capacity of these virilees in us. We have lost the fullness of our noble charges of these virilees in us. We have lost the fullness of our noble charges of the capacity of these virilees in us. We have lost the fullness of our noble charges of the capacity of the color of the capacity of the c

If some not and from some a Standard open Month seek. Crops to meet with Junnih "informatly" that evening to put to him their like a first like a seek as a constant and the constant as a of deleter than the seek as a constant and the princely states being permitted to foin either. The All radia first a set if to do not be a set if the seek as a constant and the princely states being permitted to foin either. The All radia first a set if to do not be to set if the set if the like in the set if the set if the set if the like in the set in the set in the like in the set in the se

affairs, communications, and minority problems. The federated groups of Hindustan and Pakistap were to have had their own flags and internal security turiss, and they would have been governed by central legislatures, each clerting equal numbers of representatives to an all-ladia amon Manorsty problems and complaints would have been referred to a mon court representing the sajor communities. The Massim League and Congress u. Id each have appointed dr 'ting committees of their own to draw up group a was fistions. Congress leadership argued to a such a plan actually created Pakistan before an one real see the exect of the ocsire for such a new state is n among Mush; representatives. The massion treat proposed electing a special commission from between 150 to 200 members from all the acwly elected representatives of every assembly and pluring Parastan to a vote that rody if as least 20 acreent of the compression voted in Panistin, then Mishy representatives of the peny retal assent-1 es of the Panjah Sind the North-West Front 1, Bengal a d Assa 18 Still et district, ou d'or et separatels et vote in whether ac invisled to opt or of an Indian, more It at beast "5 preser so votes they words remain outside and thing to Purple and the North West I've are opter to reparate then Bull-clustup we do also become pur of hat l'akistan as was d Benga and s that Sor Misson of ty discorts with a best prov nees as a faist Penjal, and West Borgs, could are to remain in the Is less to an and if "5 percent of the respresentatives preferred it those burder provinces would be so par tioned

Capps found Junah "in an introceptive moon," Jun I did however, we to down the pair's Crops proposed to I the suid that if Congress would · prothese proposes he would not them to as Working Com. Hee" & with how end one and quarter segators Jaman could be when he disliked a proposa. Wavel oenes al that frinally mere a figuress to present a plan to the follower of stated provisional, very provisional, acre poner trippen as therefore authorized to see Nebra informally and to wand him" on the mission's proposition, but Jawabarlal "turned down the is a proposal flat. This was relieved sequare one That evening Or ops reterned to Januah's house and once again put to him the previous A and B the linna debate reject of the min win sovereign las stan" em-I which is that Both was the same the tree tiered fed . I was loce his Working Committee if he could be assured that the issued epared to consider it." Cripps was so heartened by this we other wir last he took plan A to Azad the next day (though Nehru had just agreed to become his successor as president of Congress the next end in the Martin area of the area and agrees, and four League leaders to hancer out details of that "solution" Ce-upIt ned tiels went sack to J mah with his "good news", however Jimsh of the ed ham the who he had breviously expressed was merely his "per sum of or and not necessard, that if the League, though he was will to picture the helper his Working Committee." The mission and Ware 1 of diafter a letter to hote Jim it and trad proposing a samulating—at Sanla. New Delhi by them was sweltering, and everyone as, it if at homes of reaching closure were he and to be brighter in the case of diagram and anosphere it after the advantagles atom.

The re-powered at 5 mile on May 5, W yell's sim there birthday Jun the Long and M. Kon a Surrey And or Ray Nightar 1899-1958 and Nation Aloname ad Ismail Khan 1996-1958 to just he at the sticket Az sen sed Nebru rate and khan Aoou Chaffia khan as Congress's the rist was a and blas in and half Hinga numb refused to stake als all Azel, by otherwise the meeting get off a what Way a power! as a not to 1 1 st et. The "first point of controvers, arose over anne I as to gess sample to again a have mover of cheret taraban and the selection of the wire January also after that I should be given a I a see I would have to un to the groups if it wanted more " The ne lond spraces are ential jogs to congress passed on having one, and Jinnah was negative, "his arguments . . . weaker and a trans a se as War I noted I much a speed a wanted less legisla-1 the same that grow the of first in where Congress was a pears of learning in form of passared the alcovery course of every argument and conflict at Sirala remained the basic differences bewith a congress two makes area congress in tary government philoso-, have of politica life.

on the mercy of May Nehr, and Janual crossed swords in what want to evo ve into the most deadly duel in Indian history

Nehrt and that , . . The Union of india, even if the list of subjects were an act a string and star of from new world at the are a larger in a subject in the subject of the subject of the larger in larger in the lar

While Nehru and Jianah fenced, "Pute's face of cold angry disappraval

"the question of grouping would anse after the constitution had been formed, insisting that "The first question L, decide was the character of the Linon After that Provinces highly extreme their autonomy subject to the Linon consultation and Provinces are represented verying of the major in the Al India Copyl if the always foods majorate verying "in

Cripps drafted a new "points of agreement" document, which ho planned to show candle that evening asking Warel I tack! Jonah The Mal atura was horry in burness Chadwick" ot organism with Patel and Goral for khan but he had not come to at mass on her ngs (ripps had hep id to win Gandhi's sepport but he struck out Gam be argued it as the proposed sol dion was worse than Pakestan, and he con I not recontinend a to Congress." He "seemed quie immoved at the prospect of each war," Wavell noted, concuding I think by Garoti Fad adopted Fatel's thosis that if we are firm the Mushus we not hight to a notherway evening A svell not with I much for over an hor. He was stem I be showed less call the pate of Congress and all their works. He is convinced of to a intersten to spit the Missions and sociate is indu-domination we health that we may do what we the kip strengt have but not press our no said. Melo while Copps returned to talkle Candbo in Litas carse ad the Malin magaze "to Lapprova" to a routh my proposal of the flives research " Wated who did not get true their and who he miso had Carally was not at all persons I that C we sel Co up o he altat, . . . more likely that G. has led C. down the garden path ""

the Month 1916 Pethod Lawrence sent J man and Azad dentical former sings steeper stylong agreement that started wer. "There shall we is a taken not Concern next at I Legislature dentity with Foreign to Defence Common month and nexts rights and having the most site to the analysis of the started the finance of the quarters on here objects."

The site of deather than a powers of the Promises and as some three end through of Provinces may be takened in the groups may determine the Provinces have been the takened to take in common " I make spill of the same day from "Yarrows," the burga ow he occupied to Strola.

We are of the opinion that the new suggested points for agreement are a fundamental departure from the original formula embodied in your letter of 27th April, which was rejected by the Congress.

(1) the constant of this proof of the proof of the served to discuss this paper 19

taked has ejected the waith non-tracked on the wither

 ν th over 200 million Hindus, an idea he termed "really worse than Paki stan" 40

They were back to the drawing board. Cripps went to see Azad; Wavell ved [ii ali, Nehr , was won Azad when Cripps saw them budning them will reasonable but "having great differ to with colleagues," presumhis are any Pate. Journals asserted Wavell that he was trying to be reasuppole" but that he was "already the subject of criticism from his supare its for anyong one ded" on the acceptance of a timon of any kind at . In termind a great concessor in This he as sed on Paxistan is a meting to define heir own constitution. On the evening of May B Notice proposed that congress and the Lengue should next with in conper a settle 11 in points of a fference of away replace that he would be I have to core any finds representatives of Congress. There was a preg runt s lence for a minute or so; and then Nehru suggested that he and I me start and there and then and see whether this could decide on a para 2 every means light (1), our reason and streeted reason So I was or test mounts white I mal and Notice locked heres no s proof at its agreed on, or adjoint for two days, however take granwed to meet again on Saturday, May 11 at 3:00 p.m.

Now were first to be an one of the even of the according to report that the ride is the same of the according to the choice of a ridde acquest of the according to the choice of a ridde acquest of the according to the choice of a ride acquest of the according to exclusion as the greek frew of the according to the first was the same because the according to the a

some series of some tasks to the for the cash removed as series of a countries of the series to the series of the cash removed to the series of the series o

sentataves of all provinces and princes, states. Petatex-Lawrence asked both parties that exeming if they thought in view of nos ions they had outlined that they saw any "chance of reaching agreement." No one could honestly say vies. The secretary of state, therefore, ell he had no further option but "to close" the conference. The enbinet mission and viceroy planned to return to New Delhi on Tuesday.

That Monday, May 13, Wavell talked with Jimah, who "looked tired and all," They talked about the new executive count. I at the exectory proposed to appoint Wavel offered the League parith with Coagress, planning to anchold one Sub-one Sub-one Sub-older Claste member and one "other" monorate lite urged Jamah to accept iso favourable a proportion." Jimah lastened care for to made the learness "He said buy whether or not the Maxima League came into the Internal Covernment was all dupred in whether our Sub-mour second the latened a solid on the long-term issue. It's feat was that the Leaguess plan was to get come of the Central Covernment. I and concernate or get ago in trol in the Progress. Jimah man all to remait in Stan. In "aest one recept Lat Mayor reported the areast three weeks."

The viscou now self-obliged to propose is own settlement. Bind now in this study and diginal It has status to all the with me diginal diginal It has status to all the with me diginal diginal restricted no longer. The parm inster many diginal control of his measures or gress. The abilitatives but in a condo was kept how and it in it had been added as a finishment of the way and the longer in the section of the trade to be accupant it not topp thou sowe over he Corgress Leader strengte.

The cabract asserts broadcast its plan worldwide from New Delhi on the radia in fit Mus 16, \$40. It was to ask hope for a wight hread in the more proceed by in the wase of the Bribas rap. The a timent expressed the fit of product sweeners state of Pasishim outlois rejecting it for various reasons, among which were that it "would not solve be conson an norts are seen by only rules to proceed to some the most processes as which were that it "would not solve be conson at norts are seen to only rules to respect to the sale processes are superiorised throughout the assumption and administrate out in a solution of the solution reconstructed datases at these let a consolid and in the first form of the solution which "should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures," a read time has a consolid a consolid to raps solution of the terms of the respective.

Details of the new constitution were to be worked out by an assembly approximate a ross section of the popular of India as possible an elaborate method of assuring proper representation of all communities was outlined with due consideration given to the representation of attests as well as provinces.

"To the leaders and people of India who now have the apportunity of the consumers statement and the consumers statement."

We and our Government and countrymen boxed that it would be it is life for the Incian maple that acres to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian Parties . . . this has not been possible. We therefore now lay before you proposals which . . . we trust will enable you to attain your independence in to slopes are and with the east canger of aternal distribution ne can not These promisely may not of course completely satisf al parties . . We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of those proposals . . a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civ I war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foresteen but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many nithous of men, women and children. . We appeal to all who to I for gone of fiducial heart to extent their vision revoud their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four I indred millions of the Indian people . . . we look forward with in the first termination of the great nations of in an I got future and our glorieus than your past "

William are agreene to India by British rule. Gandby commented tout day If the statement of the Mission was genome, as he believed at a say a street of the up-on they had declared the Botts? owed to India, namely, to get off India's back. It contained the seed to conto had a series do no will at so, ow and soft eng " Perhafare as after sir and tagaintie officers morning for a loss in a name of a bid of a saider that Alleria Mi a also or or other was to Compagnity buildings but to be a sed prop is a similar Secretary of State felt some the content procedured down or the Coat thent Assembly was subject to alteration . whether it was open to 1 State of the state of the state of apporter ancount of parameter the Courts under a Dod of new Ger hoores to Mr. Caret a cell pulls in post the grown countries from

for the Statement would hinge on this point "S The viceroy "was not very clear" what was at the back" of Ganobi's mind in aising this question be argued forceful. As anish had that be was "quite convanced" but the primary objective of Congress was "to get move of air croft in the Interim Covernment" so that it could then "at any time torpedo the Constitution making Bods by the sing some or in all communal issue.

Jinuah phoned from Srinagar on May 18 to report that "the reaction of the Musims against the St. tement is very strong,"20 and regrested a morth before coming to as decision," in order to have true to consult his Work ing tunin thee He was oly his fight a 6 to 10 the county his own fragile health fixed to its mat but week thicks and his concern about extremets to less two party, who were ready to larger, had wetgood in ther delay. If the thing was rushed eve wit og would be sponed " I mah warded Wavel's invate secretary in their tell, hone conversation. Nexmorning the miscor but with I agree M. Mary and morney him I was impossible for them to wait four weeks for joigh's response. They pressed him to urge Junush to return to Delho at once or to a charite the Nawabzada [Laquat Ab] to negot de 20 Luquat nor seu to 1 bit refusion that all er more after a talk to mout the our telephone and said that I was calling the Working Committee ... for June 3 and a and the Capeil for Julie 5 and legged not Che Lurred as Caladd take time of sersuade his people to accept the procusuls "to the aissio agreed, though " that relationshe" I must planned to return to New Delly on lane 2, cut ting his much in Ted vacation in the fills short by a week

On May 19, the very day Liaquat Alt met with the mission, Gandlin of the Pethalk Leavernee from "Variotal Marther where he was strong a New Jellin to ask further enhancement of the same as let a decide asked in earlier concension with the secretary of star. Do you regard a commendation as blagators of all nember of the contemplated Conferent Assembly required the Mahatma. I know as regal position, to add a stdeet. As quiston has refer ner to the honotercholarses of open in all graphers. Was "read that letter as "the first of the Congress efforts to wreek the Groups of Provinces."

Cripps drafted a reply to Gandhi which explained: "We have stated and be that we are not orthor resolution trappears which are as far or a receiver had be by I force "On Ma. 20 Gandhi wrote again. he has reply to a reply

I would put on record my conviction that Independence in fact would be a furce, if the British Troops are in India even for peace and order within, or danger from within.

If the point me above he Troops proved in the point me above he Troops proved in an armount of the point me above he though

tess cry Acceptance of 'Quit India' by the British is unconditional whether the Constituent Assembly succeeds or fails. A direction revision of the altitude is a necessity. As to the Interim Government, the more I think and observe, the more certain is my feeling that a proper National Government responsible in fact, if not in law, to the electron of members of the electron of members of the Constituent Assembly. Without it, deep and universal corruption cannot end, without it the psychological effect will not be produced. Every day's delay in forming such a government is agony to the families of India.

I set Lord Alexander was then convinced that "Candin had two objectsto meritate the British Government and to promote a policy of scuttle, and to seems power setsent contribute one of note of not being and so to abandon the just claims of the Musam League ""

The number wired Atties that the "situation has taken a turn for the as the speciment to be an attack the grounds propositived, they object to parity in the interim Executive. These two points cross I were regal someoner to. We may be deer some near the form long with threat of direct action by Congress if we do not the mean mark to a series of a what me positive will be in that event. "If What the mission waited for the Leugue to need some a meants of A series and a series of the points of a series of the congress of th

Covernor Ste Frederick Burerows of Bengal informed the mission on head of maps fields and Max mass are not made "relatives the mission of the mission of the mass and maps fields are the proposals by Juniah would lead to resignation of the League mulsive and serve as a "signal for a Jeliad."

In the field of the League mulsive and serve as a "signal for a Jeliad."

In the field of the League mulsive and serve as a "signal for a Jeliad."

In the field of the

What I do not set to a keep Mark on a property of the Mark on a single of permanent by Quand. Again that What was required wos a single of permanent in the Hinney were incomable through a proportion that the following a proportion that the offered to transmit assume advice to the only.

sion through Major Wyatt "as to how they should proceed," if he thought the massion would not breach his combidence." West reassured him on the confinementality point and reported as beher that what Jimah wanted to tell the mission was that the British shared rome as the banking forces in the Inc. an Centre for some 15 years and deal with aetime, and foreign affacts for Fakiscan and Handustan consulting the Print Ministers on each State "4 This see ned a sensible solution from Junia, a point of view since that would have created the leas havor and provided the most scoullty and stability to all Indians expecially he majorities. He had not say a m pulling of course and he doe not trust Cripps to keep it from Neural Nor was he certain that Punck havretice work all tip his hand to Goldhi cet with time runs agour and his energy you have as a was, in all on yoush telt about desperate to copy a this artiful to bull assion, where it was too lat. He was very approus. What noted about he strong Maslim reaction," against the measures slatering and has most heatant to support it openly

What elevers concluded by laster g" I mah, in view it of that he lad are any sixes for a smooth all manner with her leage is Working Conner there eight not "posses by pass a resolution on air following lines."

The British had exceeded their brief in pronouncing on the me its of Pakistat. They had no one nest bit my down what in I now of proper wanted. Had an analysis of Pakistan was outrageness. But the Mi shows had never experied the Dayish to give her. Pakistan This had never experied according to give their Fix day. They knew that hey had to get it by their own strong right arm. The selection of aned any the Calinet Missions Shiftmer than arms the could not used and council not work. But neverthers is order to have that they would give a a final office of the Kasew that the quachurery could not further in they would accept the Statement and would not go out of their way to said the the procedure but they would accept the Statement as the first step on the road to Pakistan.

At this proposition be was delighted and said. "That's it is not go it, and I is complete conclused that that is what the M sum League will do."

A digit of the ring or severity precise ed."

"Cripps is still in hospital though better, and Alexander is gone to Cevium to inspect the Piect "Pethick-Lawrence wrote Attles on May 26.

V to ye hopen I to be to W Coll some sind or go to the last of the last of the last of the last of the second burdle.

Azad and Nebru and the Longroup generally are willing to write

any formal or legal change in the micr in constitution but her want almost absolute power in reality and they want something to be able to say about it to their people. I have a not on, more not want the Viceroy to relanquish his authority but he positively wants him to retain it. The Viceroy is now I think convinced that he must go to the limit of what is possible in satisfying the Congress..., I have not the doctor of about the difficult, and dat bott Congress and Mass. Lean, has not express variousing acquirescence in our plan sufficient to enable us to go ahead with summoning the Constituent Assembly. In or before June 15th. There are man people who would welcome our positives a getting on with the job.

Not stank ag thera. Petrick Lawrence binse f

 be free, then the sooner they realise the better that the quickest way is to agree to Pakistan." Immah if en discussed hold interval and external relations calling woon the Arabi rolline assertance [lew andcost white items" condemning he "Dutch as penalist hold or Indonesia" and concluding that is India most time is lead "wind in their heads. "There is no remark for a disease of the kind When a man is inder a le usion, the only place for hor is a length assign. With his desision, the final is arrogant transition, and oppressive But I hask all this will sober down by it does not, then we shall have to do something to make it sober down."

Before June 6 ended the Movara League course, acceptant the call missions plat. To a large majority. Wavell note: Now the rep bettle MERY wind the early shoots which the Lockegue on will stand up to force as or no fracts, a the lattice Covernment and let be again sate. "A Francis Transhall by he lattice Covernment and let be again and ended he was at June his remould for Mishim League party of on more power. The bulk red to be the again to repress had come set that the entiry and standards are left or assisted he studion had been your of from the response programs want to go entire at and low with a course having given energies most of the course at and low with a course having given energies most of the course at and low with a course having given energies most of the course has a fact the League.

Interior Covernment? and "said be longer for example of the specified of the Assembly of the second of the second

Nehru and Azad came to speak to the cabinet mission on June 10, arguing agonasily against parity. Wavell, Alexander and Pethick-Lawrence to the area for a present of the area on more compension with the League of Nehru missted "it was frankly beyond the power of Congress to agree parts. Ther Candle is or end the scene setting the known to Pethick Lawrence and Cripps through intermediaries that he was willing to see them. Alexander like Wavell, was "completely mistrustful now of G. and the standard like Wavell, was "completely mistrustful now of G. and the standard like was the see for the see Gardin, but the first see lord of two was presidents" on the internity government submet, one from other of two was presidents.

each party Jinnah and Nehro-rotating office. It was also possible under this arrangement to have Nebru and Januah as Ministers without port £0...0 It was agreed that he vicere should ask Nehr and I much to come to dinner that ever my for a discression on the position of the Interim Covernment " Everyone agreed a was essential to get these two leaders to talk hefore their party positions troze incompatibly

That eight Creek were personally to persuade 'Januah to meet with Nehra and Wavel, the tollowing saming He spent several hours with Januah"s mone in his Delta house recording an avergaed note" of the r conversation" watch has been a orrectly baladed has by Mar Wya "64 bit was clearly the record of this most critical firmah-Cripps summ t confere we that famed

Mr Jiroah said that he was not prepared to discuss parity with anyone. He had had great opposition in his own party to accoming the Mass on a proposal he did not think this upposition was bulk in procated, on what to be, gone through The mis was he had been able to personale the May . Langue Consett and Mora by Comme tee to accept the Statemen was by mon when that he would not join the Interna Cover, a cut takes the Miss, a League to I paran with Congress the was now pleuded to that He could not go back on that. He was not his own master 34

A singular confession for finally yet one he know would appeal to Cripts. " a was not impared to meet Nebra or assert else from Congress of the thent he leterom Government antil Congress had accepted the Massacia pre jos ds. Then am soci tain you alland to be on the last of parity. The moment that Congress accorpted, he would of course, he willing to Nehru and the Viceroy and put before them the names of his nominwith the suggested portfonos. 19 I was the of I make key to copy for sparing and fram saving every to carry or reportant his ness to a ways andsting upon prior acceptance of a print ple his seemed a grant in negot ations before taking on the burder of a tace to lack meet is witthe "other side" Especially when he considered the militaria non-ful or had no faith in his opposite number-

Jamah nex trass ared Cripps of how sensible and re-sensible little to was, having just taken so intransigent a stand on this key issue. He enpressed "shock" to had no get up in each transition in the line materials. say) that it was being reported that the League's nominees for the interimgovernment or car you appropriate to the dien of the Contractor | goods | 12 th for the to the first property of tant marter. . . . He was not going to put up as his nominees people who

were popular or well known in the Muslim League if they could not do the tob. He had many able men in the civil service and he would put some of shose in even though no one had ever heard of them. The problem was to get the right man for the right job. He was quite prepared to tak over the portfolios with his and make adjustments with him so to they could get a workable team which was what was needed " (ald anothing be more reasonable Now that barrister annah re-established it a mage of examble condend on in management may cos, he could return to his parity demand, but this time he not the ones of having avandoned "parker" on Congress.

He seemed slightly interested in an idea that had been put to him of

are topy columnet of six wiff parts for Congress and the Muslim League Scenething hased on these lines on he he are out 50 are pareta ethe was frippes note to houself and his Mission it agines, for Le was dive's con ag ap with such hi agait sole jons to what is ryone else found inthe predent types a network this por all not "with insine aafter [of man be to se that had a survey of department by] atte is a gread-vocace and how open his own cand from a nice to seek sited of and matter I have now heard from diff went courses part from Mr Janua that Joseph did procuse the Musica League Council and Virking Committee that he would not go to an let in Coverna to those pays believe that he reds did have to deal were great dut-I see next I we pure "a" Plat coming a perent so not postivile injuliety, a literal's position and the pressures under which he was ding it has we med it is long was trong here sindle without all adoption and train the sostion to is not by a sign to soush ast where Jaman's overlying as after the with the most one most help and practical greeks member Nahira ratel, and Gardi were having segaod a regard entre store on the grant or sin as we by the over a who and them a bor siely as pete unit or neit togging hage use Nobita brought int or fer a parses for the identity country. But on a tour swere from the I to five were a man as language one non-Congress Hindu one Con-- School for Cast, and on Congress women. Wavell aglice informed at the this list a wild be quite inacceptable to Mr | book " Vixt a I I male arrived a digave the viceros some names for the Covernand the large of an in the returned that atternoon and "seemed depressed, worked himself up to one outburst about Jinnah's refusal to et to 1 1 and topon a september on I for and evering Pate. trained the rome that is a great at the a continuous hyper of hate against Januals and the League He said . that no Covernment formed by the Vicerov would be scoop able," That day Gandhi wrote to Wavell, urging him to "Dare to do the right" in a saig otheren Congress I st of no sines and the League's "You make make your choice of one borse or the other," the Mahatma advised the field matsual "So far as I can see you will never succeed in riding two at the "in ric Choose the maries submitted either by Congress or the League For Cod's sake do not make an incompatible mature and in trying to do so realised a fearful explosion. Anyway fix your time-lendt and tell us all to selve when that limit is over. I hope I have made my meaning clear "Marie was horoughly discincted with faudhi whom he reget of our an exceedingly stread obstanted with faudhi whom he reget of our an exceedingly stread obstante dom seeing double triagned, single-unload politician, and there is little true saintliness in 17.

reactor the British cabinet considered the "ninatary implications" proposal of addition in to a acquatations. It ejected a proposal and the settles to conjugate a thin he assembly had been undo in idence. "Scruttle" to Central and Southern India and fall back to the Net Next in North is seeking to hold Priesta. The prono minister in the last at allows to the Next in the pronounce of "notoguinding against leakage" the fact that any such the internal control of "notoguinding against leakage" the fact that any such the seeking of the fact that any such that the seeking of the fact that any such that the seeking of the fact that any such that the seeking of the fact that any such that the seeking of the fact that the seeking of the fact that any such that the seeking of the fact that the seeking of the fact that any such that the seeking of the fact that any such that the seeking of the fact that the seeking of the seeking

The continues of the forest a policy in plications of any continues of the boxes of which appears in suggest that we are the tag of the second of the second

As regards American public opinion, such sympathy as we might have a constant of the confidence of the

In New Delhi, Brita n's cabinet mission continued laboring to put a new a line to be the second of those three exhibited wise men. On June 16, Wavell noted "the Driegation's floa. (?) attempt to induce the children to play together in a stellard. All this areastering and bargaining by Congress lass roows hade complete such by to take a british or state-manifes view. June and has stored in a strong the complete such by to take a british or state-manifes view. June and has stored in pred in comparition. The Azad kept resulting him long, de-

tailed, demanding letters. Candhi kept meeting with Pethick Lawrence Nobre with Cripps, Wavell with Junah. They were a going over one or two names on an interior cabinet that never met-designed to keep a land of 400 million from drowning in an ocean of blood and poverty. Was it that itl of them inderstood now hopeless a task they would face oner tiey agreed to take power. Wave I was bored sick of them all by now no adme breach, with whom he reported a not very pieasa a marriery on June 19 common ang "The more I see of these lad on policians, the more I He said that the Working Committee were intesting des acro India for ght but and ated that he through we were being sers weak with Congress and gaing was to them on every part, and that at house t was hen , a build lown sevend enders it I mad gave no the vigession of hear, i staer depressed and tired, and of feeling that he had been rather let down."

Copps was prepared to ask |much "for a list of mains" to an ertire where govern is I Congress opter to reject the missin s var stavely however word her reverse of going Junean responsible control using the whole (a rumout He would geter to ask I so to come in my he has a that he would get the same share as he who proposed it persposed by for his late a Government wend by the Yourn's med John world not to Prime Mais et age of he offer led coros who the spreyed his alto a pay the gain as we, as any other other of lidner and Cripps respended that it seemed to be a reasonable but this is with he've he opper Can't of expressing as views as to the amposit and all Go. the at a mode les out the serve or reasonable terms but why was tim we should then ask Congress to I on a Cover ment. The Vicerry said at outd not agree He would eather have a Covernment on officials." The first ford I acquially against with Wall I Perbuck Lawrence "some self, sed somewhat with Sirts companied did not want a tice rough should over he view in the dien'el a care t choosing Jimnal he would have to consult Attlee and his colleagues back home

The mission met with Nehru, Azad, Patel, and Rajendra Prasad on Sunday June 23. Pethick Lawrence explained that be and his colleagues "quite and a sunday of the property of the fine of the fine of the property of the prope

SIMIA REVISITED (1940)

. ross Mos as being an aded in provincia governments, sufficed to dem-. s te the "national character of Congress" but Vehru would not budge. a won of Patel or Azad Pethick Lawrence - te cogenity remarked that

The greatest obstacle to India going forward towards independence was the inability to get started. . . Suppose that the Congress representatives persuaded the Delegation to agree to the inclusion of a Congress Muslim. If that occurred he did not believe that Mr [inran would accept it, and there would be no Coalition Government I led yet twas reals, in the best interests of Congress and of Inthe to act courageously and to begin by accepting the conditions under which a coalition would be possible. A solution of the comand arolders on India had to be found, and for the parties to work taget in a practical problems provided the best hope in

The vision, of Lettick Lawrence's first pica, nude no positive aupact how as record that the orders of Congress to done seeking a solua discourse at wollow for nite ears but had always been and a livida a guarrelas to reorgize an, Me as who s p in a fin tout me in the Congress contemps despreshese Manie who are a so" but arteed that it capit late on this pead, weakl the c . Y . x . t of the t c girss " B t . Jan 25 tiefs of origins tenn to it and individual the spread plan of the had a man a green a green reservator a sout The toritation of the Control authority, as contoined in the proposals, as well as the system of 910 4 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

"We are now precluded from trying to form an Interim Government are I set paters the M or Legar but without that of the Corin the British to expend the community recognition the Cor gress response, "and Congress will claim that in any fresh attempt all a same as a cores of the finnals have be a. We are set in a decement of he the Congress and t. ablility of Congress to twist words and phrases and to take advantage of the granted Air Januar Land and tracer are his hope the reason for his difficult attitude. The success of the Congress, which he will feel ma been mainly due to their continuous contacts with the Misston . will increase his district, noth of the Congress and the Mission. one of the Viceroy . . . Tempers are trayed, the Muslim League feel that to merco accept that a ala advanage of which they will not be now to make capital." Wavell would soon be all to form a caretaker government of officials, an afternative for

more congenial to his nature and experience than trying to preside over a coalding cabinet would have been

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That evening the Mission and Wavell met with I mult to show him the Congress resolution. That final meeting lasted almost three hours it d after 8-00 pas Wave I informed Jinnah that he would appoint a "carretaker girk ernment" for a "short interval" and they could go ahead with the Const tuent Assembly and constitution-making during that over ude since the campet mission was returning to England Jamah was horough a snocked by what he heard, asking 'Dur he is constand that the Delegation do not now wish to form an Interim Government! He and understind there of one party rejected the offer of June 16th we should go be as with the other

The Masson League had accepted. Mr Jamah sar in dis ked the suggestion for a postponement of the question of the Interior Covernmert the thought twas had for be prestig of the Delegation and also for his own prestige it would destroy both " How oge viationing that moment of "truth" must have been for him how trustent in after all these ears all these decades. Once there the told best yet Sell now date rends for you bit Next me all, perhaps or next year. Wou lie is another cere It was a declorable interview thavel reported noting that by the time we got down to real business.] was to a horneyl y evil mood accused us of had talt i aug. If give ig was to Congress as d considered that he should be given the appartunity of catering the C'n CONTROL "72

Next day. Alexand it were round to see Januah to tell him how "improvis" In was not to 'part with bird ter ings between hem. But I man's teeling if treatship empaths and to st for the British and all they had a ways tood for sing his first trip to London, would now thus e be put back together again-after that fatal fall.

Bombay to London (1946)

there is no sufficient power create that power front charged his league council in Bombay in alle july. "All efforts of the Muslim League of and a poster case before every soperation and presents have before response of a bit of the Congress. The Cabried Miscon have placed not the ulse of the Congress. Then there that a marker control later he above in the first subscript of the best of the congress. The brish whose posture professions and pressures on laged those to "play" into Congress schand.

"The man is a mean of all met Mission and the Vacern we are more any interests of the Congress. Jim is tend has 450 link to who were packed into a vivo tend of all cowed dividing in hers. On per school one and comosts, as we'll as delegates from reconstructions.

The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy—have gone back on his of a worst and maniford activity and another descripted the long-term of the proposals. Congress really never accepted the long-term of the proposals of the congress really never accepted the long-term of the proposals of the congress are described of a straw treated this conditional acceptance... as genuine... Pandit Jawaharial Nebra as the feeted President... at a Press conference in Bombay on Jely 10, many the policy and attitude of the Congress nowards the long-term proposals cases. That the Congress nowards the roothing. What is the use of frange and things and december 3.

age of broken it shift edges" and of Congress's deliance of the League

and rejection of the mission's plan. I can tell you this wishout fear of contradiction that of the three parties throughout the negotiation the Missim League behaved as an honomible organization." Jimah assured his backers. "We worked with clean hands. The Muslim League is the only party that has energed from these negotiations with honor and clean hands." Clean hands had Jiwars been a prime value to bin, and they seemed then his symbolize a positical progenous final preparation before entering the operation, from where the hopelessh sick patent by waining or be the Northing short of restead surgers would suffer when ever he great British mission went bick or its words. Sowed down and paralised? Despite a Congress which had no ther "decency" nor "any sense of honour and course."

All these facts nave clears her ind a shadow of doubt." Quard c-Azar contributed that the individual in of India's problem is Pakistar. So ong as the Congress, and Mr. Gailly, ha also that the represent the whole of India. So long as they derived that the representation of India. So long as they derived the major and to be absolute truth that the Mislams, and so long as they continue in this victous sincle here one and with no compromise or freedom. The Mislams is the here one and with no compromise or freedom. The Gandhi now speaks as a universa, adsociety that the Congress is the trivial for the explicit of the Williams enough experience of one trust in that has become for the star we have now grown up the interestion of the Mislams and allow the Mislams are the Mislams are also we

Int only now account Crippe of trying to which out of suple definitions in his Commerce talk about he assion resorting "to agglery a words and misleading the her ser ago adding it what for human was perhals the deepest cut of all. I am some to sex that, So Stafford Copps debased his legal turnts. To Pethick Lawrence who had not on all London's House of Lords that he hands could not have a monopore + M is in Non-nation Junich should ", in not trade I am not asking for subcessious la oil not ar I leggling and haggling set a campa. His flores rejection of the busiless of his fathers and in a commercial community underscores how I tree I be elt the diere als of the negotiations that ended the DESSION I'V ortenday to their Muslims, for viola commerce trade and diterration of notices rub inspure and were be had promely professed Large I that + hagging a gas" with smeles, Surv. mallan. the raids of the helpfore non-with that is note linkes how to Carlo day Layer the as Ma Dora 3 Medie and moderner was shattered, swept away by torrents of self-interest that gushed from See and a land the step of the stand district I take

Next day the Muslim League council met to consider over a dozen resolutions that had been tab ed by members, try og to donde "what steps" ie L. gro should take a view "of the Cabinet Mission having gone back on their word," as Jimah told them. Luquat Ali read each of the resolus on id. and then general cast resion began, lasting two whom days The sex or as is frankly to adopt that we made a mistake in accopting a I may if some sort proposed at the Scheme and go back to our Pakistan a urged 50. Firoz khan N 10. The net of washing his a the total rejection of the constitutional proposals . . , let there be one guiding beaa work us a f by sovere go, separate State of Pakistan " Man and II. It Mohami rose to short arendst will cheming. If the Quaid Azam and a give I sword, the Mismas of India will rise in revolt at a monet still "Other manages klargs and malages rest rat dithose et ants, and by a base that A promised that "If Mr Jame's gove the call Mistime for 1 a like of lift would come forward to carry as the struggle for at the prest of Lakeston "

On July 29, 2948, Jinnah and his Working Committee presented two is directly a furnitured out after hearing the committee operation. The first way and acceptance of the cannot a success May proposals the cut-I are not I cagus sometiment of after direct action.

Whereas Muslim India has exhausted, without success, all efforts to that a peaceful solution of the Indian problem by compromise and even the locate accessors as the Congress when a peaceful group of the Braish and the control of the Braish and where it has become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India would not so the control of the Braish and the property of the Braish and the control of the Braish and the Braish and the control of the Braish and

After both vest utions were enthusiastically adopted, Jinnah concluded. We are 1 for a second second work a or 1 for a second with Mission Juague did we do inviting except by constitutional second s

power and machine guas behind it, and the other with non-or operation and the threat to launch mass civil disobedience. This situation must be not. We also have a pistol."

Pethick Lawrence i reged Wavell to meet Juniah as soon as possible and to "press line even now" to permit members of the Misho. League to join an interim coalition government with Congress. Watel undureshielded Juniah's ange, and the unimmence of closed League action. He wired borne on August I that their was "no und cation of any in rediate accompt at a mass movement, and asked Pethick Lawrence is form he cabinet that "it would not be advisable to send for Jinnah immediately... If I send for Jinnah a once at will be regarded as a paintly rection to a threat and will put up Jinnah's stuck.... I should propose to Jesue Jinnah aloge. "So the game continued move by Mach, we han move

After the League council had over a correspondent for the Dath, Telegraph adversered limin to use what he meant ty direct action, and limin to use what he meant ty direct action, on a limin to the repeat that "then would be a tasts height account, but when the correspondent showed him the text of living a the order of ring or some Juniah charged legal" of a missishboard, him he secretary reported that the Wicking Contacted set the data of a larger of Modern limit for the largest 1946. The vectors of depart private secretary tasts a strike had "possessibles of working by mass bester to the Wicking and unperturised missishes between the "Ji has no real tiden when to do "100".

On August 6 1946, with Pethick Lawrence's approx. Wixeli wrote Nebic as presented of the Congress inviting van "to sebiret to a present of the Congress inviting van "to sebiret to a present of the formation of a link in Covernment. A will be for you to advert which the constitution of the Mr. Januar. I have the covernment can be due to die to the same agree with me that a Courting government can be due to die to the same agree with me that a Courting government can be due to die to the same agree with me that a Courting government can be due to die to the same agree with me that a court of the congress of the congress of the condition of a coulding previsional Government. William as to sente was acute surface.

I know nothing as to what has transpired between the Viceroy and vow, nor have I any idea what agreement has been arrived at between you two. . . If this means the Viceroy has commissioned you to form an Executive Council . . and has already agreed to accept and act upon your advice . . It is not possible for me to accept and act upon your advice . . It is not possible for me to accept and act upon your advice . . If you care to used me on hotalt of the country of th

That was August 15, 1946 precisely one year before the birth of India and I kis an. Neura responsed the same afternoon from Bombay "I am prepared to come to your place at 6 p.m."

After their meeting, Nahru reported to Wavell that he had "offered Jinass on ones" that no "major consumal same" would be acted upon in a safe and asses bly except by a major yof soft parties, that any disjuries works and he referred to the federal court for degrees and that all he Congress cid not be the heavy grouping and preferred autonomics for a myunces where the world not oppose grouping by promose for a myunces where the world not oppose grouping by promose for a myunces where the ded in section at the Misha League at on cabuse to transfer but did in section at the Misha League at on cabuse to transfer but did in section. It again could be provided as a so othat Massian being as uded among the Congress in a section to a strong the theory of the section o

"There was a curious stillness in the air" over Calentta, Major L. A. Live in the first from his period atop Fort W. Farm that but sticks more a more in the first has a first and sticks more a more in the first has a first and standard major against the cit in the deliterand Orbitellen's "moulle More in the that is not incertage in "combate first here." Action Day Continue in the first words and little earliers here, at Mosar League were in the first words a first headquarters at the fortreas by 7.30 a.s., but the brightness of the fortreas by 7.30 a.s., but the brightness of the confined to barracks" that day India's Largest, most a for the same in the mile level as the fortreas by 7.30 a.s., but the brightness of the confined to barracks" that day India's Largest, most a for the same in the mile level as the first his short as a membrane level as a section mare three cases were control.

communal trouble started as early as 7 a.m. in Maniktolla urea in agil a constant flow on the constant flow of the constant flowers with the constant for the c

Struction up to 6 p.m. is that there have been numerous a wide tream communal clasher, accompanied by some looting of the community of the companies of the community of the community of the companies of stubbeng bave been reported.

A marked feeling of pance especially among Hindu traders in north Calcutta, has been feature of situation since early in the day and has system use to many wald reports far exceeding actual i.e.

1. Disturbances so far have been markedly communal and not, repeat not, in any way anti-British.¹⁵

Lieutenant general Sir Francis Tuker to charge of Iudia's eastern command, received into ligence reports that Suhrawards told "an immense Muslim crowd gathered round Oct.terlons's Montagen that acception that

the Cabinet Mission was a bluff, and that he would see how the British could as Mr. Valua rule Bengal Direct Act on Day would prove to be the first step lowards the Masin non age for emancipation. He advised them to return home early and said that he had used a large ments with the per or are with any not to the fere with them. Our intelligence partiol noticed that the crowd included a large number of Muslim goondas, houdlums], and that the their could be seen as welled as soon as the meeting ended. They made for the shopping centres of the town where they at once set to work to look and burn Hindu shops and houses. They are the colleword Red to indicate that their were their dients at over Calculate.

Certex was proclaimed in the "motsullerter districts at 8:00 mm, but he 5:00 mm when the area commander called in the 1th Worcestins and Include Howards from their on action from a three forms. Other found to deep street Market all are left the few man me houses and shops compared sucked in Amberts Street the 1th of must locking in market in Amberts Street the 1th of must locking in market in the control of the three of must locking in market in the control of the three of wounded and three codes and in the control of the street in the code was the second of the code of the c

"February's killings had shocked us all but this was different." General I sker noted, "It was unbridled savagery with homicidal maniacs let loose I led and the least and series. The inderwork of Calcutta was taking charge of the city. The police were not controlling it Daylight showed not a sign of bus or tast rickshaws were buttered and burnt, there were no means for clerks to get to their work. All the more idle men the burnt is a limit to be an all the more idle men than home. It was obvious hat their mood was thore gible dangerings. It was obvious hat their mood was thore gible dangerings. It was obvious hat their mood was thore gible dangerings.

BOMBAT TO LONDON (1946)

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pouce . . . slow to get out of their vehicles and before they had come into not on three people were beaten down and lay dead on the road.*18

On Monday, August 19, one of Major Livermore's platoons removed 150

The stench in this area had become appalling and one citizen was so or ... for the removal it it miss part if the mass that he pressed two bottles of champagne on the platoon responsible. ... At about 8 p.m. that hight we received orders that the main streets at least must be clear of bodies by the time the curfew lifted at 4 a.m. next morning. Stench masks and gas capes would be sent to aid us in liftig the decomposing corpses the oction of Muslim huma grounds and Hindii huming ghats would reach us as soon as possible. . . . "How the hell do I tell a Muslim from a Hindii when they've all born dead three days?" . . . It took two more days and nights to finish my own area—a total of five hundred and seven corpses in the one

to also well a concern about their was a rhrest of a choicen with a concern about the action of the concern are the action of the concern are the action of the concern are soled and of those was intelless as was Major Donner of the

for a solution of which can from a rocality essithan four

Except for the occasional band of British troops the city was literally a City of the Dead. All the streets were well lit, showing the care and the streets were well at showing the care and the streets were med high

or to a low and no open left and cord by the restrict to Orion it was known that the mad Englishmen were collecting the as I not a mass superiors from he as not indicates and to con-

... All 1 ight the horr blu task went on."

Notice to see the bown on people were so glitered it ments that a state of the total range of the total rang

that's at the way 3,000 read and 7,000 squred tongress was

"convinced that all the trouble was deliberately engineered by the Muslin-League Ministry." but the ""error bad as of seen no safe actory by mince to that effect." The latest estimate of "assualties was that "apprecially more Muslims than Handes were killed." ""

Jinnah was asked about the Great Calcutta Killing by a foreign news agency later in August and replied:

if Congress regimes are going to suppress and persecute the Mosalmans, it will be very difficult to control duturbances. . . In my openion, there is no alternative except the outright establishment of Pakistan. . We guarantee to look after non-Muslim and Hudu caste-minorities in Pakistan, which will be about 25 minions, and protect and safeguard their interests in every way. . . That is the quickest was to laid as real face sont and to the well are and happiness of all the peoples inhabiting its sub-contine to?

Two days aft a Wavell's broadcast Jonah armone on the Textocory has stanck a searce blow to the Mechan caugus and Mislam laria but I are had the Muslam of Ind. we had to your I are the art courage and have been store our I are to see to set us a constraint purstion in the interim Government. . . I still maintain that the step be had cour a most course and unstatestianthic and as fraught and improve an armone cotta pursues and instatestianthic and as fraught and improve Max are who he knows do no command. There the respect or see them of Muslay Inda. "

Mass I now captured to Nehru and Gandhi to accept a new formula on an approx. The transport to convent the constituent assents. All they did no, "Several times last evening," Gandhi wrote the viceroy on August 28.

contrepented that you were a "plain man and a soldier" and that you be not in a 11 last 11 ar and a no. 11 stor peopse I take It, to device methods to prevent a repetition of the recent terrible happenings in Calcutta. The question before us is how host to do it. Your language last evening was unputerly. As representative or

the King you cannot afford to be a military man only, nor to agone the law — Nor can the Congress be expected to bend itself and pt want † considers a wrong ourse her use of the but tal exhibition recently witnessed in Bongal. . . . I say this neither us a Hindu nor as a Muslim. I write only us an Indian. . . . You will please content of the british Gabanet. **

The view great outty Guidhi he may singlestion that Congress should be assumed about the Grouping categorical shows here well ustable in an wax to consider resource assumers of the subject. Waven to k have increased become their meaning Gardh sinesses add tig. "It is to my mind convincing evidence that Congress always meant to tall their position in the Interim Government to break up the Muslim and their footbox of the Congress always meant to tall their position in the Interim Government to break up the Muslim and the footbox of the Congress always meant to the footbox of the Congress of the one of feeth enadoperal for the Missions. The secretary of the one is now a undergoined could make the Lawrence with a resolution of the meant time warmant ask you not to take any time which is a resolution of the congress. "At the same time warmant ask you not to take any time which is a subject to the the Congress." Wavel a new time it to be the children would present our and second and our resolutions with Nebula would present our and second and a rathess with Nebula would present our and second and

"As lang as Jinnan fuels he can get his veto through the Vicercy, he will be a significant of Bir across the perfect our approach of a significant of the lower as the cages that Jinnah was less up them to the wilderness." Birls noted." And in his Id message from london on A goat 20, Jinnah appealed to his followers to "rally round the Mind of League". Let us stand as one noted nation trader our flag good in one pla form and or determined and prepared to face the worst as a data. In the analysis of the first out that it is a land that the color of the worst of the color o

A few days later on September I, the eve of Congress taking over the second of the sec

other scentary reported noting that both communities were busy surreptiously arming themselves.²¹

The "door to Purna Swara; has at last twen opened," Mahatina Gaidhi told his prayer meeting at Birla Heuses in New Delhi, on September 2, 1946 as their transovered king, Jassaharlal," and his colleagues took oaths of office in that flower decked capita. Netro was now a rhand the prime manster of India and he placed Pole in charge of local and Baldey Singh in charge of defence (or war). "A new Government capit into being in this accept that he hoadcast from New Deeh a few days later, the Indian of was, is failing better the called. In a this one and capitalist of was, is failing better that the one and suffering Shi is voidable lagent with the bright eyes of adverting and with faith in herself and her mission."

On September 5 Wavell "very arge by" transmitted his "breakdowr plan for leaf of the base refer to a set of the season to a set of the very constant of the archive thou is very and o bot "50 The very of period withdrawal tepended, as he put it on a wolute firmless by the M.G." and Wavel requested in a second to a root a loss as a more by the constant of the relative set of the wintest all indicates the both discernaring from the wish out of the relative troops from south it with selection and for the with selection and for the with selection and for the with selection and another 100 000 Bit to be tought south base to be a result of the both south of the both selection and be at the with selection and another 100 000 Bit to be tought south a base to be a result of from the a

Wave the doubt J much sold friend Soro of Neder, on September to and we had a leng talk an politics and of the received of general grants and the M.L. in and the difficulties of Jihnah's character. Mrs. No politic of Jihnah rather as all Lucifer in Filter as get one way half ince our seeds the a great reader of Indian freedom, but who had cost he week out of the Congress heaven."

The Probe Mark whose correspondent in Bombay interviewed jurial reported his remarking.

The wound is too deep and the negotiations have led to too much offerest and cancour for us to prolong the present arguments. The late on be were it for not we must be no from the regioning again. I shall accur plend my case but were the British Government to anythe me to Landon to start a new series of conferences on an equal footing with other negotiators. I should accept, . . If the total of the conference of of the

DENAH OF PARISTAN

BOMBAY TO LUMBON (1940)

With riots it Bordin. Cancutta smoothering, and Nehra running the show in New Delhi, the prospect of a visit to London most have looked quite appealing to Jonah through sultry appassion haze atop Ma aba. Hill Or of not London, who not prison? Rather me extreme if giors or the other than the limbo of obscure uncertainty, cut off from power, from the glitter of the vicero's magic or cle, where he had once held center stage and trout the achievement of Aukstan, which haray anyone mentioned nowadays except with a smalder or shrug.

The vicercy met alone with Jinnah on September 18 for seventy-five to use's and earlier to stank day with Nenn and Pate 2011, of whe of a ked his overtires to Januah Congress idealershap to now mastrake Wessel and advance before a lower of stopps and Attle to remove his fire a power of use or a his occurs too supportive a Mishon League demonsts a changement troubed a nucleonary of raining to the resolution of patern states and action of the many to the resolution of patern states and after towerer was have read to take a ridle of the many forms as a large not so perfect the second "provisionally" to convene the constituent assembly on December 6, by which there he vicercy imped a settlement with the Lyague would be maded.

The mission mapisters met with Attlee at 10 Downing Street on September 23 to consular the viceous benediating pain The prime misster as pressed "strong objections" to Wavell's proposals, which he considered day and Crapps on economy and a word stact screaming for position. Civil was would come upon us at once. "Me He favored convening the ensity of stact screaming for position Civil was would come upon us at once." He favored convening the ensity of stact screaming for position Civil was would come upon us at once. "Me He favored convening the ensity of the day of the day of the convening the ensity of the best places from which to day ion Mair s are Bombay "two of the best places from which is withdraw Europeans," leaving the British troops to hold "the most equal part of India" where "an attempt to set up Pakistan . . . would care civil was."

Wavell spent almost two hours with Junnah on September 25, report to hum "very quiet and reasonable" and "anxious for a settlement if it can be done without loss of prestige. I have been a settlement if it can be gesture of good-will" from appointing any Muslim, and he was into a creating the appoint of a more of a control of the cont

bon more naked), than ever before. The more I see of that old man,"
Wavell arounted, the more I regard him as an anscrupe out old hypocreta,"38

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By October I, Wavell was convinced that "it is no use trying to squeeze the Congress am fur her on the nationalist Muslim issue." The viceroy their decided his "hest tactive world be to "water."] much samply on give me five names for the Muslim seats." It was in the "obvious interest of the Muslim League" to come into the government as soon as possible. Wavell now believed.

So Wavell met Jinnah next day and spelled out his strategy for bringing the League into the interior government. Mr. Jound soud nothing of all on or national st Musier issie and did not attempt to argue 1" the vierros at d. but he said that if he was to have any obaccor success will be Norkang Comparation as a set large sor a see set is any tien on the other is his he had raised. Which explained that the continue at his sites Tresident was to president than est meetings in absence and that round arrang. for the leader of the Max 10 a ty to be a son led as vince we man of the the word was and graph plant and applying t understood well liew topox at aught a at restige were to I with a and and clearly revealed here the improvement provers not not a nonall as governor govern. By the sail of their meeting he "got the mapresor "that Land was a x out" to come as It is not ever by their as have been at least mally appressed at how much the surery would de I as the Leagues court is my man and ing influence to & how Patel ad the others as do the vice-ego, and observers of Della and Som a

We other than Ward surder in about the note in the street frestrants that on most of the material power and pump those October is on those in New Additional sections and pump those October is on those in New Additional sections and pump those October is on those in New Additional sections and pump those October is on those in New Additional sections and pump those October is on the same and the section and the section of the control of the section of t

The nawab of Bhopal, Junual's old friend and chance for of the Cham-1: 9.1 in 1.2 in 1.3 in 1.3 in 1.3 in the state of the Chamtensive one," as Wavell put a⁽⁴⁾, inviling Junual and Scener to meet to but pulse to discuss their residual differences. I have como ted some of my colleagues about the matters discussed by us yesterday," Nehru wrote Jinnh on October 8.

V. J. agreed the nothing could be happer and better for the counby than that these two organisations [Congress and the League] would meet again as before, as friends having no mental reservations and bent on resolving all their differences by mutual consulta-I and never desiring or allowing the intervention of the British Government through the Viceroy or some other . . We would perefore welcome the decision of the League to join the interim the consent for it to work as a singled team on behalf of codes as a 11 stale 42

V . the limited a resister of profes as and concerns he had with various I as as one re a sumal to the resolversal in Joseph resolvedes. are any more of a soul respondent to the soundaries by to some arms of the constrained the points noted in Nobru's letter concording "I am anxious that we should come to . . . settlement without which hearts me may be finished better was seen corder and the money October's "There has as dently been some lately"

Lands for hes erry wind speciel more the rate sist receives to bloom sit out was worked total constrainment of con in the shieles make of the Martin Tange, he represent the time and the are a har he have at the distance of the late group, t all aid it relating flow hat he two parces would agree and the contract of the period the step of a dis-Governor General, Inevitably the rider was unacceptable to Jinnah.** Wavell and our fer been at pains to assure Nehra that he was not calling in brough to place han and the League into a coultion cabinet in order to craate a "King's party" inside the new government, but now he admitted feara that Car hand the impress with secting a sector Mustin Laure and carager to tupo contave elected suff no the Change policy of the same bear

The viceroy had what he called "a crucial interview with finnals" the next afternoon, when he learned that the Lengue was ready to join the me turings are reliable gor tiped one as all no as le proposerny a nor the section of the late Carried the section of the section o with him to be street 12.00 -CONTRACTOR NO STATE OF STATE O an engaragement to me. . . . I gathered that the man they had in went

at present a Minister o Benga, "44] N Mandal was to nominate was then numster of law in Bengal, an advocate whose greatest attraction to the League appears to have been that he was born "untouchable" Junian persons, is decided in remain outside, caving Liai, out to head his party's team with 1.1 Choudrigar of Pombay Abdur Rah Nahtar from the fronner and Chazantar Ali Khan of the Pumali to complete the League's inter a govern, at state. Nelmu dropped two of his Musicias. Sharaat Khan and svec Zaheer and Subhas Bose's arctiver Sarat Bose from his cabinet thes mixing room for Jounal's choices. The new viol ion was official, announced in October 15 But as communal noting spread from Benga, to the North West Front er t Congress League coal from was off to a most pre arrows start. A major share heighbook was that the acague has stad on press plong at least one of the claser most powerful abruet positions. for an affairs house or deteace held by Neber Patel and Bulary Strub. respectivel. Congress was a malting outstry sharp a those jobs Nehr. was also sport about reports it a speech as speech a speech and en karaels on October 3) when he reportedly said the Let give has desided to enter the government because "Lyigh as in its react was adverse to the Langit stere to and that as before Mish similar continue to prepare a "fight" for the worms, of the r goal- Pakistan "C Nebra demand if retreation of both tements and winted antication of the Longue's long rongs into tions as well as a definite assistance by their that there will be cooperat on and tear work 48 W well team that Congress resorted I has all they can to or on the League combig . " Nebra bud out it business that Con-I swas read to turn over finance then readed in South Indias Christhe relational Mattan, to the League A harred Wavell innsted whatever the outcome, that "I must . . . come home at once for consultation "

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On the evening of Oct ber 24. Scholl confirmer that Congress and decules to resign a Patel's Home ministry portfolio wept to the Long in The viceroy called in Jinnah at 7:30 P.34, to ask if he would accept finance.

I was not in a very accommodating mood, . . . but he agreed . . . with the usual proviso that it was subject to the decision of his Working Committee I then sent for Nehro at 9.30 p.m. and told him that the League would accept Finance, and asked him to let me know al a ... se sor an E pro son d for Mattha Nebru who looked very tired and worn, accepted this quietly, and said he would let me know after consulting his colleagues. Ne ther party has It is all very wearing and for althe least trust in the othermost the first time in my lie I am really beginning to feel the strate they not a spray principle of the tay and a maple WORTY IDE NO

This new members of the government were sworm in October 26, but I new world be no aurmony or after spirit of the tyrity in that short aved central government, analy permitted himself to be persuaded by Waself to per in only is a faction strategorn to any time for the League to marshall at some congenity and the brief period of see any cooperation of h Congress or as first phase the hardcharge 1 the periods his of partition to Pakistan. There was no reconciliation, no solution to the allies of fundamenta instructs suspicion text and halred. Too make any hard been let too many knyes buried not many backs too many a practice of the constitution of the partition of the constitution of their communical neighbors in the house or village next door.

the same to the tested legislative assembly does on October 29 with Norman to the At Al octated are to sold earth governments from the same to ago or same to save the same to the same tested are to ago or same to the same tested are to the same to the same tested are to the same to the same tested are to the same tested are to the same tes

Way, I new at the Calculta on October 31. Sarat Bose was threatoning to call a new strike. Governor Blarrows warned the viceroy that he could be a made on the calculta and research that he had been done to see for themselves how the calculta early in November to see for themselves how the calculta early in November to see for themselves how the calculta early in November to see for themselves how the calcultation arrival, softing out that the army had been directing traffic in the streets that it is a fire appears to a calcultation who the distribution of the calcultation of the calcultation was even being discussed. Notes and Linguist could hardly activate the calculus the calculus in section of the calculus that the calculus that the calculus the calculus the calculus the calculus that the calculus the calculus the calculus the calculus that the calculus that the calculus that the calculus the calcul

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Committee, right in his proy nor on November 9, by which time much hat

takions of troops had been ordered into the rural regions most seniously affected "Roying Hindu mobs have sought to exterminate the Moslem population wherever they could find them," wrote the governor "Almost all casualties have been Moslems and it is estimated that of these 75% have been women and shildren."

Down headlined a mid-November interview given by Jinnah to the foreign press on its front page, ABSOLETE VARISTAN THE ORLY SOLETION," reporting.

Muslim League President Quedie Azam Mohammed Ali Jimnah declared... that in his view "the only solution" to India's present communal situation "is Paleistan and Hindustan,"... anything else would be artificial and unnatural... Of the Interim Government, Mr Jinnah said... the Muslim League Ministers were there "as sentinets" who would watch Muslim interests in the day to day administers who would watch Muslim interests in the day to day administration... Asked if he favoured abandoning the Interim Government, Mr Jinnah replied "I have said this It was forced upon us. The present arrangement I don't approve of "III

Congress as sted and Pethick Lawrence agreed, that the constituent axer is must be called on December, 9, as planner, Official is tations axer issued, and soon after, on November 21 Indian led off with "Tho North Security I think that the pray of Hambet on it is aged with only had. Hambet be has summoned the Constructor Assembly to meet though the Modal League's decision not to part epate for the first stands. There are reasons to believe that he has been one yet into this decision by Congress prosture. For some days asked Love Trace been trained as him. . Whatever his gallantry on the hattlefields intight have been, he seems to have put that virtue in cold storage along with his Field-Marsha is autom."

Was if necessate all four Maxim League members of the cannot that afternoon, and "Laquar part to me quite blandy the question whether I and this Majests's Covernment intend of to keep order in Ird a and protest amorting which we remained here or not the said that the responsibility was still ours, but that we were not carrying if out the Testonial Council of the said that the responsibility had to have the said that the responsibility had to carry out our responsibility had to read the scalence of the Bitch Covernment had anomiced the said and of the said that the said anomalies are continued of handing over power in India shortly, we could not expect the said and of the said of th

Jimmah announced to the press on November 22 that "No representative to Russim League will part citate in the Construent Assemble." Warell with for Liaquat next day and "argued" with him for over an hour, trying a privace him hance member to get his party to attend the assembly. "I note of a citate convince him. Wave I wired Pethics Lawrence "as I and previously failed... with Jimmah." It was finally clear to Lard Wivell that his last great push, getting the League into government, was a villege to vicing Nothing and elements.

The secretary of state invited Wavell to return home at more with two coes two es or he Congress and two from the League to discuss the er cata or and seek a new settlemen for the The viceros suggested the up a Sac, proposing Baldey Sough, his left to may her Nobin cona to dagges on the Working Committee and on behalf of Compress sine on the invitate builder also are ned a day after fourth how her temporal line to made or an arrangement and the property and il con attlee then were personal appeal to Schra, peading with I to unider to be per this way to prose rapic and smooth pauliess Livinds the goal of Laan Frequent " Calagress met again for a full in its issue a and Neiman an additional decided ingo to London after all (I) he eve of their departure, Lunah changed his mind after learning t. All a cold helder were using "What is appossible set of people they are?' Wavell noted. "I sent Ian Scott off to see Linquet, and by midare inner to so that we had got this fare had by not had agreed to some with us to Karachi tomorrow to see Jinnah and try to persuade in "He he sext day show they flery from Dell I mid a -1 . 1 dops | man received a . cright calle from Att e 14 and seems that a come and mough "caller late he finals of the d amount the vicercy's plane in Karneh: The crowd that had come to see I do to a special sided "Tax stan Zocabad

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London-Final Farewell (1946)

London in December was cold, wet, and block flow redolent it east have seen of his first arrival their flits low vests up, so made had banged you so man feelings were the same Jama, will feel not a 1-day, evit off from a 1-thou who once loved him forced on 1-so light resemble as lattices with based strangers a Lot who is wested to one their of the surring role. How different his life won that is been had never mand with the company of sharespear as despites with when the had performed cars agr. The employ he transed with the 13-40 was a rat loss cone, in I trough A is had been the had performed as a first of the final act, and because it were his block Jonah cap, but he rest as a connected had was controlled as a double-breasted British woull sufficient and because it were his block Jonah cap, but he rest as a connected had was controlled as double-breasted British woull sufficient and because it were a double-breasted British woull sufficient and because it was a controlled and because the sufficient and because and double-breasted British woull sufficient and because the sufficient and because the sufficient and because and because the sufficient and because and because and because and because the sufficient and because are a because and becaus

In treast gray coat stated had prepared a "top secret" note for discussion with the caunce called the Area Pethick Lawrence and Alexander of the sourt of hear meeting on December 3.

cresent situation is that Congress feel tha IFMC dare not break att. Irin duless they do something quite outrageous. Their aim is jumer and to get ind of British influence as soon as possible after which the can died with both Musions and Process the former to believe the propaganda and if necessary force; the after least army pities reopte against their us well.

Wassion Weath and the need a luncheon for Jimbab that day with a common of the MI solid representational was still harping on the released

Hel feels very litterly that he should have been allowed to form a

vehemently sticks to the view that Congress have never accepted the long-term plan, never meant to accept it and never will accept it. . . . He says repeatedly that all they are after is to seize power . . . he will do al. he can to prevent that He now refers to the Cabinet Mission plan as a fraud and a humbug. . He has now returned to the proposition that only the creation of Pakistan can deal with the situation. Any lingering thoughts that he had at Simle of a central goverument with three subjects appear to have gone for ever. . . . "You don't realise," he said, "how far the situation has gone in India since you were there." His theme song on this issue is what he calls the the sers) butchers of Mislims by Himous in B har. When asked for a constructive proposition, he said that the only thing that could be done any reductory was to restore law and order . . . They must all co-operate, particularly the British, in restoring law and order . . . Then, for Pakistan. . . . I do not ever remember seeing him before in a worse mood. . His last words to me as he got into his carwith " are is no time any more for argument."

The only hope now, I am sure, is to frighten him badly and to ary that if he won't accept the Constituent Assembly, then his peolimited the government and he will get no support from the limit.

I is have not to kind Joseph and I support after functs and reported to a major to no be set tools.

The claims is a set with Wavel and Africa at 10 Josephin St. 4. In a 1 cart of Capita wild that he field that the posterior had now come to the stage where the course of events would depend on the soon taken by the British Coverament, it looked as if it had got beyond to a 1 capital to a set it is a continuous to pass when of come non set. If Jonah was in the frame of mind indicated there would be no chance of an adjustment or of Jimah accepting one. I Jimah was alwing for full Pakestan which he expected to get as the outcome of a breakdown. If If [Cripps] thought the vital thing now was for II M G to make a declaration of what they were going to do. He thought that the Or pas tion would agree that our position in India was now becoming un-

Alexander was not sace of this latter point, remarking that at a dismer-fire J think and Linquat. "Mr Eden had expressed the view... that possibly we ought to say that we had gone too fast and that, while we adhered to one piedges, it was necessary to give a breathing space for his one order to be restored and for constitution-making to procred in a case at coupling to Otherwise we should be unable to fallif one obligations to northest." This Conservative party line was, of course, the same a so-

ment Jinnah had used with Fethick Lawrence. Atexander suggested "that this general line might be taken by the Opposition and night command some support in the country. Moreover, the case might be made that we were a lowing India to fall into chaos and that this world be a danger to world peace."

Attles eft the cabinet meeting to see Jumph and Laquat monochatch after which he reported to his solleagues that the burden of Mr., amake discourse had been that it was a mutake to have tried to introduce self-government into India. . Mr. Jinnah saemed convinced that the Congress did not mean us ness in regard to the Congress did not mean us ness in regard to the Constitute Assertly his own aircass simply that of Takstan, within the British Congress, "I have air was simply that of Takstan, within the British Congress," and the held out in prospect of congress of a arrang, new with the longress."

While the arme ministermet with the Maxim Leagur leaves at 10 Downing's teet, the maximum and the overrowner outside the first screeners of states old officer for a message with Nebro Petrick Lawrence opened that meeting be saving how attained they all were to thelp to enable india outside india nature smooth of the secretary of state coolessed that the calonia reasons the senter so don't remark to a thought of both palaces. He aided dropping something of a bombishell to Nebro that The previousness was any long, sufficiently accopied or unked as with while to proceed upon to fand. Ne in sea, and in along it had that was the has on which everything was proceeding. Nearly there was tension.

Here Wavell pumped as to say "that a total of severa, thousand k loculd ated somethr k more than tense." But he his ray sed his the reason has something many deaths was that steps had been take a which recoveraged violence. He had the aght that the essence of the Califfe Massians proposals was that they were to be put through. Was it now suggested that the essence was had followed to explain "that it was not IMC is pourly that one party should have a veto on progress, but clearly if one major years declined to some after the fact of a veto efficient situation. Nearth a sense of bill off given investing this influential that his Rithals have a veto for the fact a veto efficient situation. Nearth a sense of bill off given investing this influential that his Rithals have a contract of the lates on the lates of the l

Copper that as a like to the more than a second that the League had "never been prepared to co-operate," height stated that the League had "never been prepared to co-operate," height stated as a second to co-operate to the co-operate to co-operate to the co-operate to co-operate to

or politically "if co-operation among Hindus or Muslims was lacking Nehru angles. Adverser, that the Mislar League was not interested in embers one of or policial "accounter" trapps next asked whether Nehru thought that if the Muslims could "be assured that a three tier system, would even thate" out of a constituent assembly, that might induce them to come in? Nehru said he thought the Muslims would come in anyhow "sooner or to review that they fifth in assembly was going to be consens. But even if the Muslim League came in, Nehru predicted, it would not be to active memoriously with Congress, but mere you a step in a conflict the second over the

or ger I wahana taked the element to came to all of them that it in the major in the paper would not be able to viri, barrannously with Johan may be magne not in the same cabinet and probably not in the same country. Still they tried, for another hour to convince Nehru that it might be assess in both reconstruction to long it of a tro hand in its sections to the its ground but would be excitated at three months ago than to outly a notice; if that a course how within these arts of its period in a course of the paper of the interpretation in the Federal Course for major at many weather tests of hards.

A that time Cripps favored a public declaration that the British would have India in a year or, at the most, eighteen months, insteting it would be appears to hand things over to any government set up by the constituent as all feel of lawares be excel that Nelse variations to reach a settlement "fair to the Muslims" but suspected many "more communic elements" within Congress would not lat him do so. Wavell agreed, insisting there was "no chance at all" of Congress showing "generosity" toward Michigan has a lateral possent of all as him of religible in the United Nations, with Aftheo suggesting that it might be might be all the surface of the lateral possent of the lateral posterior with Aftheo suggesting that it might be might be all the surface of the lateral posterior with Aftheological posterior with a surface of the lateral posterior with Aftheological posterior with a surface of the lateral posterior with a

within the Commonwealth and presumably hoped to get British assistance to deal with the Frontier problem."

Friday, December 6, 1940, was the last day of London's India conference, since Mehru had insisted on returning to New Delbt for the opening session of the constinuent assembly on De ember + Jinnah and Lagrar however, were in no rish to get home and opted to remain in London a few more writes. The Caomet net on themselves ind approves a sate ment which began. The conversariors by 1.1 h. His M. esty's Government with Pandit Vehru. Mr. Janah, Mr. Linquist a Khair not Sartar Balack Singh cairs to an end his evening. Constituting come to be far and by a Considert Assembly and a large section of the India, possible on has seen and expressional His Maristy's Covernment could not of course concerns a cession of the India, possible or one page sees for Congress have strend they would not contemplate or one growth a Constitution montains, in willing leasts of the country. "That evening, Princ Minister Alace after now last Indian guests."

The British Government had done their part, they had seented acceptance in this care by term him it solids a greater may be explicated in the mere entitled may be as he had been until a to get acceptance by atther ride of the view held by the other. They proposed therefore to issue tong at a Status, at 10.

Nehru flew home the next morning kany Dwarkadas who had just arrived in London from New York after six months in the United States studying "labor problems," called on Januals at Claudge's.

I found him sick and depressed. . . . I told him that I was away from India for about seven menths and I was, therefore, not able to understand what was happening to the country "Country, what country " Jinush asked. "There is no country. There are on y Hindus. and Mussalmans." I found that Jinnah wanted no acttlement except on basis of Pakistan. He wanted to keep the fight on because he was badls and ed are treated any abuseus by the Congress leaders. I put it to Jimah that the Moslim League and the Congress could carry on their quarrels outside the Government . . . but was it not essential that they should work together inside the Government and do as much as they possibly could for the country? Jimah rephed "What do you mean? How can it be possible? Do you mean to say that you and I can kiss each other in this room and go out of the room and stab each other?" I felt that it the Congress leaders had not broken away from blur in personal relationship, he would note that early alleged a strong alterior

mg of being personally burt had embittered him and he had created ghosts of suspicion and district all round him. At the same time be had kept his shrewdness and be knew the art of not speaking too ruch as also of opsetting his opponents. He had found in the imreturns and conceited Nehru are casy victim.

whick Lawrences parlamentary undersecretary. At his Henderson, we touch hand that Deer here a so remarked about I must being a north which must have been count of knowlester by it in in the hire in his of the Breish ray swell as arrang the endershop of both torigious and the League. "Henderson in told me that he had sat next to a set took age! I would not as a surprised to see that I can take the action of the consider that I me have a cock to a long by additional or think that our troubers would be over I fine in a surprised Linguist and Subrawardy are worse. I agreed to it is I may not a mayorally would be able to ace; it is Missa aring in original original and Subrawardy are worse. I agreed.

IT is 10 December on the construent assembly met for the first to a No De la wine of gent and december acting vactors by John to be pointed. When I was a labellar a gent to tail due D7 but in the law was tractors by gent and a gent to tail due D7 but in the law was tractors by president in the state of a tractor of the popular awakening to a sense of a no window to be the Indian republics first president, to a definition of the popular awakening to a sense of the law window to be the proposition awakening to a sense of the law window to be graded to be a few of the sense in that assembly half remaining empty while almost 300 congressions as a sense of the places as representatives of their reduction.

I have Shall November 1 Spatians and gone to New York to present the Linguistic case to as many delegates of the UN as they could meet, returned to be a location of a some of 10-refer to will be and and I pust Shall shall be a Shall be a Linguistic model. They

Lyon I is a a sing sout on Prop. After the complete word arm, who had done nothing to achieve Pakkstan. I listened quietly for two or three theys and their I could not stand it any more. I said that I was not the rank and the but the leaders who were responsible for it. The Quaid asked at once. "What do you mean by raders? I day overy Maslim Leagues is a leader." I said if that is a leader."

While in London, Dr. Buchman, founder of the Moral Re-Armament Movement anyted the Quand the Arama and Nawabaada Liaquatt Ali Khan to see their play and have supper with aim, and wanted me to persuade the Quaid to accept the invitation. [Ispahani] and I had seen the play in New York and liked it aromensely. Mr. Jamah agreed, and after the play when we went to Dr. Buchman's house, I said that I had asked the Quald to attend the supper because I wanted Londoness to know him. On that one of the guests said, "London knows Mr. Jumaly" How hat parked ham ap Mr. London was the I to of the party, talked of his grand-children and gave us a number of anecdotes. 14

Journals was there with Laquat Ah Ispahar, and he seguit of December of when the prime interster into ried the Commons that the conversazions with Indias leaders which took plan dering ast week have unfortunately enders over not agreed as a lag appear to all an agreed as a linear to cooperate in fraction, a Constitute in "Visisi of Chieseh Least, however as once that Its Majoris coppendent have above over all here any contragreat forbeatance and rest any a not assing a Decate upon India but I visist give the header of the II was annote that we feel a globus class, lowance place Matters are assuming as given in aspired that it is a desired that it is a feeling to the II was annoted that we feel a globus class, lowling in time of large small have its a tenjum concentrated poin them."

The Imag Debase can for the sext two days. Crip is known off in 152 or moving "That this House . . . expressed its hope that a settlement of the powerst flower to be sextlement as the increasing "At 4.39 or a. Churchill rose to respond

I warned the House as long ago as 1931... that if we were to wash are hands of all responsibility beromas evil war would seed it break out between the Massims and II miles But this, like their warnings, fell upon deal and caregarding ears

Indeed, It is certain that more people have lost their lives or have leve, woonded a 1 da or tolence ance the interior Covernment under Mr. Nehru was installed in office four months ago by the Viceroy, than in the previous 90 years. This is only a foretasts of what may come. It may be only the first few heavy drops before the their countries is a piece of the stage of the stage of the stage of the previous and in obscure uncounted villages have, in the main, fallen a por Wight masses that

I must a sed my own belief at that any attempt to establish the reign of a single manuscript imports, in India will never be achieved

These remarks of Churchiff mode I mush take even a tougher line thus he has set. After and Cripps as well as wis Woodene Wester this final such set has decreased per of the strength of Conserva we part in port he still enjoyed, and it confirmed his resolve to let Nehro and the less race muse the estiment as made track a me storing aumous the set had officially in a well is a mode the Most me who was held as no long for a set of a set in December 13 1946. It is not to 15 1956, a most track The cost for a set in the less than a set in the extraction to the cost of t

On the evening of December 18, Prime Manuter Attles called Lord Louis Mour, ratten to 10 Downing Street and invited him to succeed A will A has as as as to progressiver or not not vogget a congressed so the India is treal tremes, one this peared that It we were not very careful we migh, well find ourselves handing India over not simply to civil war, for the only and services of the control of the star o a was not not at the he address at the age on makers of the to the lad or her thought one broom has a new personal approach a s profess I to be self-based by his agreets that "Dickie Mor about in his present to a society. Morethettens ratal chore we that was a brownik agent as being those up their generally early able to Labour and his royal blood more than acceptable to Conservatives. As a select resignation of More that a sale viewer as the per-Let a concert a bank two button and lover powerer was to a conthat the part of the particular of the rund of the Pirst Cruser Sq adren was to have started in April. Mount it is nough for the formers that a represent his new assignt and was, so he "put up a stiff fight against the Prime Minis a private and a 11 may grown and the market at and the we excluded the long to add upon the fit are well, Camplett , amount resulter throught him some time, but it did not ped America surrent

Jinnah and Lacquat flew into Cairo for a few days of Pan-Islamic meetings en oute to India. It is one when Pan's in is eviablished that Indian and Earlish Mushins will be really from the Quard-Fazini assisted to Egypt's prace prinister Norrathy Pasha on Dependent I. Otherwise there will be the memace of a Handu Empenaust Ray spireding its tentacles right across the Middle East. In Jinish was a given on the Arab Leugue in Cairo and rold a press conference on December 20. If I did will must all did by Handu inspendistic power it will be as great a memace for the timer it not greater as the British imperial rice power has been. The whole of the Middle Last will fall from he in ag pain to the fire. Asked about his talks with Egyptian and Palestrian Arab leaders. Jimud. explained.

I teld them of the danger that a Hindu empire would represent for the Machenbust and assured them that Paks an a read tenser copy atom to all nations strong and for feedow without counsideration of race or colour. . If a Hindu empire is achieved, it will mean the end of Islam in India and even in other Muslim countries. There is not doubt that spirit all and religious ties and is mexerably with Egypt. If we were drowned all will be drowned in

On Describer 22, 1948. I made was back on Karach a soil He had some full or decrebed the seven decades of Lis ht. home again from Lor for to the average has been got as less of the large as the sign of the anon and here to remain low from resting place. Fathers was writing to the limiting to outstand care for him properties she alone could do Bet some if ongest and to glies in goorations still furked up the stock or add about his heaviers battle has not to a wor.

New Delhi (1947)

As the new year dawned practically every one seemed to know it was time that a har year of the har selected by with India but a har was as be done? And how? Junish had returned home a sick man, too engages as a long, link going provide much with his Worn as that it is affect a man? 29. "I hope that much does not extract our strength of December 6th to mean that if he only sits back and does not a long in the provided har renew who I was long as provided and how and a provincial substantial to "It may also be interpreted to mean a Provincial substantial to "It may also be interpreted to mean a Provincial substantial would be far less to his liking. I agree with you that Pakistan is a quite where I commandom."

Again on January 1, Attles appealed to Mountbatten to take up the

laws thought over very carriestly all that you said. . . It makes all he difference to me to know that you propose terminating the little "Ray" on a definite and specified date or earlier . . . If the little "Ray" on a definite and specified date or earlier . . . If the little routilence if it had been possible to construe any arrival as a perpetuation, at this moment, of the viosregal system. . . I deeply a well of the government of the properties of the little routilence in the moment of the presence of a man of his prestige and experience could be tail to reduce me to a more figure head in the eyes of 1 per a the control of the little reduce me to a more figure head in the eyes of 1 per a the control of the little reduced to the little

sary to do so. . . Although it would be our intention to observe the Protocal necessary to uphold the position of Vicercy and Vicercine, my wife and I would wish to visit Indum Leaders, and representative Br tash and Indum people in then own homes and macrompanied by staff; and to make correlves easter of access than the existing protocol appears to have made possible.

Lady Edwinn Mount attents whatm was at least as potent as her brahead's, and Nebrus romantic fasionation for her was to play a rise in the frantic last minute negotiations that often kept at reast one of the Mean chancers in touch with Javanbarte unnecompanied by staff."

The British theorem of centre is elagence for Norman P. A. Smith, informed Wavell that rom the British angle."

the game so far has been well played . . . both Congress and the League have been brought into the Cantral Government . . The Indian problem has been there is the stored in a proper of plan of communalism . . . an opportunity for orderly evacuation now presents itsed. The fullest site of a should at taken of our present breathing space. . . Secretary of State's control over civil officers should be alwayted at the whole assisted over civil officers should be alwayted at the whole assisted over the law one in the same far to the officers and too he pole all liven age that a decisive gesture of the kind will be access the pole can be set scored communal plane. . . Grave communal disorder must not disturb us into action which would reintroduce anti-British agination. . The former is a natural of ghasth, process tend in a sits own way to the solution of the bidum products.

Such neo-Maltinusian con rism was rarely put into written form by any an ineth-veniur. Briefin officials

A few days before the Leage's Working committee was accordingly to meet in Karnelt. Kind a rordered his Propale police to crack I had on the active League national grands in his province. The Masking guards were severed as a wart atmooral residuo hat in Cermany and I as before the as and compared to Mose's Black Shris." a Lingland by concernor him as a rospect to get the official material for the Lawrence 4 More than a diministration feel. I have were found in national guard hear fairth as a Labour and the general commanders of the guard were all arrested. The line are partially all choses and ordered to the streets demanding an in Karnelts had a fair to a fair to the streets demanding an in Karnelts had a fair to a fair to the streets demanding an in Karnelts had been a fair to the streets demanding an in Karnelts had been a fair to the streets demanding an in Karnelts had been a fair to the streets and the streets and the streets and the League for the streets are a street of the streets and the League for the streets and the streets and the streets and the streets are a street of the streets and the streets and the streets and the streets are a street of the streets and the streets and the streets are streets.

ngs were attended by hage crowds in Lahore and other Punjab cities.

natk. Havat proclaimed that the Massim League was reads to "put out 15 million Muslims to break [the] law," if Khizar's ministry refused to resigns. At midmight Khizar struck ngain, arresting all the most powerful on a all league leaders the using the nawab of Mandot Furoz Khan None and Mandot Mandot Deviation. But is rejected a every district of the lite to Dijar arrival the League's Working committee resolved against all the consist to research the resolved against all the consist to research the league opting to enter the con-

Nouri saw Waveil the next day and vowed that the constituent assemble of deriving, saving he would have to consult his collections to the consensuation of the League Members in the Line month of the Conference and the conference of the Conference and the Conference of the Conferenc

Dr Fe trutty 20 2947 Prime Minister Attlee informed his peers in the

His Majosty's Government desire to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a constitution approved by all parties in linds—but unfortunately there is a present no clear prospect that such a constitution—, will conerge—. His Majosty's Government such a constitution—along that the dot dof the very on the fact the necessary steps to effect the transference of power into responsible linear hands by a date not later than june 1948.—It is therefore essential that all parties should stak their differences in order that they may be ready to shoulder the great responsibilities which will corose upon their next year.

Congress and the Leignin both welcomed the new statement. "The British Green in the second of the Leignin both to the second of the second of

nations, wrote the Hinduston T mer next day. The Misson League and Mr Jonah are now face to face with reality No. adian wishes to deny the Missin community its ightful place or India it is not possible to do so now that the third party is quitting. There is no alternative to a mutual settlement 14 But Daws and not signer, arguing in its lead article the same day. Mr Artice and his colleagues appear to have realised at last what the Missin League has repeatedly asserted that he here of framing an agreed conduction for a united ladia was an id-dream AT o tempts made to that end have heless because her were based on an united approach."

Wavell met with Nehri ard Lispant or February 21. Nehri was obvious appressed by the Statement and conscious of the residuality thrown or the Congress, reported the vieros. The spoke in the possible partition of the Princip and design of agreement was not reached in Laquat was not prepared to reach for the Leurist and Wavell suggested to right be best for him to assist, made to come to De in "A week attained wavel to Justice and so with a shad gone to Boundary and would tool be in Dec. The area dellegated month Moren."

During the last seek in Fear Net the Paral army ed or a metasified on case in had a dozen major. They not bedrug labor of Alaries and mobile of set ingle eagle of clowers in a consistent of an eagle of clowers in a consistent of process of their states of an early of the early

Klaz reagond on March 2 after consulting with Zetrialal: Kann and other friends he trusted in Labore, He concluded to Governor Junkins

that the Mushim League most be brought up against reality without delay . . . They "League leaders" had no idea of the strength of Hundu and Sikh feeling ugainst them and so long as he and his Mosh is traced of the strength of the strengt

s marked the end of Pomabi unite the political denise of the "Land of Rev. Revers" with eader Swaran baigh told the governor has his party had a mention of Johann a coal to government with the League since they had no intention of allowing themselves to be "Treated as serifs under U.s. to masters, and felt that they were strong ranging to detend them with Anal Salas and the special plans for onas rathes for Marca 11 and 13 relations and Parkasan Day" of he had the agreement Parkasan Day" of he had the agreement of the Communication of the Communicat

he India dehate was la miched in the Commons on March 5 by Cripps.

— their ded the government's puber and noted how "unfortunate". It was that

just at the moment when the Muxlim League was about to reconsider the situation with a view, possibly, to coming into the Constituent Assembly at Karachi, events in the Punjab boiled up. . . . We can one hope that observe and good serve will bring about some settlement. . This is just another one of those factors which is a flicult to product the course of events in India long.

I am that ellipse the next day to sprak the oppositions mad the fillus or some a udicornect to the seal Cripps offer and accessed the seal on a meet of him is agarded a severa mane respects from the seal on and the numbers a bitter attack on the "Government of Mr Nellous" which be called "a compact disaster," insisting that "It was a seal of the contrast the government of India to the caste Him and the government of India to the caste Him and the government of India to the caste Him and the government of India to the caste Him and the government of India to the caste Him and the government of India to the caste Him and the government of India to the caste Him and India to the Caste Him a

India is to be subjected not merely to partition, but to fragmentation, and to haphaxard fragmentation. A time limit is imposed and of guidotine—which will certainly provent the full, fair and renomable discussion of the great complemed issues that are involved These 14 months will not be used for the melting of hearts and the major of Muslim and Hindu all over India. They will be used in the refer to the major of the provided and the subject of Labore. If the second of the provided and the subject of Labore.

After, in a topic attempt at rebuttal, admitted that "There is greas in a car be find by the first at be a topic advances in for the rever itemary business of tening out the limiturels who do nothing to the rever itemary business of tening out the limiturels who do nothing to the reversionary business of tening out the limiturels.

We accepted that social and economic system. Why are we told now a the very end of our rule. hat we must clear up all these things before we go, otherwise we shall bettay our trust. If that trust is there it ought to have been tribiled long ago. The House of Commons divided late that high in March strictly along party lines with a majority of 337 Laboundes closing ranks behind their prime number and 185 Conservances walking the other way with Chines. LM all batters with use it land staff of experts were soon to be launched on the fastest massion of happy position, surgers ever performed by one nation on the pix great body public of a sold of

Command noting it. Meltan left twent dead and many more equical, all all took direct control of his bright, necessive guide systems of the fastfading left of 1935. The new hold Mendel workes, fended 5 of put a Muslim League mentate together but could wire the support only of several scheduled tests, and feduce Christian members of his associated as well as their non-league Mesters to add to his each of eight party as well as three non-league Mesters to add to his each of eight party as well as three non-league Mesters to add to his each of eight party as well as three non-league Mesters to add to his each of eight party to always the fed to sold. If his bid opposit in all uses of eight party to deep League An assemble official addier and presented as heavy for the league to some secondary distributed and proposition in the saft and by paying retring service prostors for imprecedented it inhers which noted to Pethick Lawrence. The Bedget is closer our to that it dives a wedge between configuration for the errobant's apporters like find.

An itser was my main analy vestereda. Jenkers wrot: Wavell on Mill J. "By the evening the city was completely out of control. The Lab all does not seem to be serving by bit the figures we have are only for the corpers which have based through the hospita mortian. Miss of the management base produced arms more in integers. Waste of people . . . running away from the city added to the continual management. Police reinforcements were despatched by order hit and two Britis. Battalons. Bad rioting is reported from Banket and two Britis. Battalons. Bad rioting is reported from Banket and to lender the self is a wave go through here stages—123, funk and recrimination. . "Ma The freezy was to continue at year — Congress Warking Committee met in emergency session on March and resolved that

The transfer of power in order to be smooth, should be preceded by the recognition or practice of the Interim Government as a Dormor.

Covernment of the cov

Cabuct with full authority and responsibility. Any other arrangement is incompatible with good government and is peculiarly dangerous.

In this bour when final decisions have to be taken . . . the Working Committee earnestly call upon all parties and groups . . to discard violent and coercive methods, and co-operate peacefully. . . The end of an era is at hand and a new age will soon begin. Let this dawn of the new age be ushered in bravely, leaving hates and discords in the dead past. 15

When forwarding these Congress resolutions to the viceror the next dis-Nebru explained our intention to tage the Mislan larger to our Congress in the asserting as a variety of the sight of resolution a final stitlemen. He had delive than amost a dible sigh of resolution.

If unfortunately this is not possible, we ... have also suggested the divisation of the Propins in the parts. This principle would if course apply to Bengal also ... not pleasant for us to contemplate, but such a course is referable to at the ptly either parts to repose is all upon the other, due it events a rise Paris Law demans strated ... that it is not possible to coerce the non-Muslim militarity in the Province, just as it is not possible or desirable to coerce the others... In the event of the Muslim League not accepting the Calenter belog there accepting an not of the Coest turns Assertions to a several possible and Perush here met investable 44.

Congress was now ready to concern Pakistan including only Muslammajor districts, but Pakistan nomethouss. It was east March of 194. Jim inhibad won. We have got to stand in our was less. Quadi-Aza fold Missim counties an Bot has on March 12 wishing that "our ideal ogy, our goal, our basic and fundamental principles... are not only different from the Hindu organisations but are in conflict.... There is no common ground for co-operation.... There was a time when the idea of Pakistan was laughed at but let me tell you this there is no other solution which will do credit and bring honour to our people... Inshe Allah "God Wilfing... we shall have Pasistan."

Communal tension Jenkius reported was facility in almost the estretion of the Punjab with the major sets. Later American Militarian Resolution key disager points. But the front of the profess the facility of the property of the familiary of the property of the familiary of the property of the familiary of the property of the profession of the profession of the property of the property of the profession of the profess

In American Minitor Tara Singh was reported to have told his Side fol-

lowers that the "Civil Mar had "already begun." Sikh defence incroser Balder Sirgh write Wawell, "Laake an secret of no conviction that Museim Leagues analought on the Civilian Ministry had been engineered in rac way it was because the League had despaired of being obtait defeat of the constitutional methods." There were as of no firm cast at y figures for the Pumpils by each seed sated that about 1,000 persons had been felled in the last morth of noting and many multiplies of that figure wounded the rands would be late that year, but the Punjah's fields were to be rand of will broad.

Mosell after over almost data, with the cabinet in London, serking an wars to their a problems from his over and glower out taking to solve flux. His such hows becamen his properties of Indian polytics, gir real bit in at the thought as he interested the calment in early. March "that he hand the indian leaders to mosely a would sooner or here real so that the retention at the Indian from under contral courter was value but a to be external violation Indian and to the maintenance of all that he would not offer with the interest to keep law and order of the would not offer the second levels to keep law and order of the beautiful of the second levels to keep law and order of the second levels have deep law and order of the violous levels have deep law and order of the violous levels have deep law and order of the violous levels have deep law and order of the violous levels have deep law and there were still many "amend notes of be considered."

The sold friend rosing amoustador V. K. Krishna Menon, also met the M. and after that March. 3 on long for or the energial sedator of the question of Masla, and Conference Research Meaou, proposed two Pakestans, one in the North-America partitioning the Parish as well as Sind, the other in the North-

to ordine the discrets of Lastern Bengal which are predominants Musicin, and certain areas of Assam, thus partitioning Bengal...
I believe that parlation is the price that will have to be pain for any set. It in Bongal... any southern which hands over Calcut to to Laster will be unstable and impractical... On the other hand, the League has to be given a port on the East, and the solution is the set of the chapter have set in end led a should build a large in a large time and per in the large of the provide the money for it however main millions it may out?

in the second second section of the second s

Tem of thousands of refugees began pour ig into Bawa pine. Irom

THUNAR OF PARSETAN

315

organized with extreme savagers. I mkins wired on March 17 "Deputs Commissioner Rowalpards believes that in his district agone there may be 5,000 casualties "in as information flowers, from our angregions of the Punjah a partir of organisation and conspirely seemed to energy wrote the governor, "in parts of Rawaipind's outhrealms..., have occurred almost simultaneously... carefully planned and carried out. All Muslims in the affecter districts seem to be anyoused from a more that to the movement. The Commander in Dyssion tole me when I saw I in vesterala that at tacks on an Muslims has been led in some cases by set reclaims officerasone of them rensioners. The Muslim section of he accult acables to whom I spoke ... were extremely suffered, ... non-Muslims are vehemently better against the ... services and north larly against the Police. ²³ The League's Two with a engageare

On March. 8. Mounthaiten received an prescripture orders from the prime minuster.

My co leagues of the Cabinet Mession and I have discussed with your thingeners. I have all your approach to the problems which is discontantly our in India. It will, I think be useful to you to have on record the salient points. . . . It is the definite objective of His Majesty's Government to obtain a omitary Covernment for British India and he Indian States, it is ossible withing the base Communically through the need or of a Caratturent Association. In advantage to this and it is should do the atmost in your power to present that there is no prospect of reaching a settlement on the hairs of a distinguishment on the salies of a distinguishment on the salies of a distinguishment on the salies of a distinguishment on the steps which out committee and the takes of a that inding over of power on the due date. . . You will do your best to progress rapidly.

It is essential that there should be the full est co-operative with the Indian leaders in all steps that are taken as to the withdrawal of British power so that the process may go forward as smoothly as possible 22.

On March 22, 1947, Mountbatten reached New Della, where he met with Voived

There was some discussion of the fadure of the Indian politicans to appreciate how lift e time there was to arrange the transfer of power after the life and the life and the life and the life and life

some strong authority to which to hand over in India, and that any solution must be based on the Indian Army.³⁴

NEW DELEG (1947)

Wavell quit New Debu and the next morning but remained viceroy till be see out of Karach, the following da: I went round to Mainthatter, a unite and had a discussion with the Viceroy designate, elad in his underside and vest press at whe Alan Campbell Johnson receiled. It showed me this morning's masterpiers on the troust race of Direct I as a choton to do Bonn's Brownian John Mounthattins will make the seek. Ward, can Mounthattins private secretary in which they are of course described as 'Lord and Lady Louis arriving' "M

The numericanth and ast of the Harial, vicerays was swor, in by Lord Chief Justice Sir Patrick Spans on the moral good Mirch 24 (1947) with a bidned version of perpand acropple for New Delb stoyal ceremony in goard or Ministration adoption his additione by spansing in an independent manner for several monds after its restruction of good New and the Congress consters sented to his right, and to Lindard his League call in a leagues on the other set. The offernoon of the wast custing forthwise Netra at 1 the last hadapat. He had not be view Dellift at their earliest convenience is need within a linear to New Dellift at their earliest convenience is need within a linear wast at the rearriest convenience is need within a linear was still recuperating in Bounday.

Notes had spirit six time with the Mountbattens in Ma aya during to a rand admired three sensitived engages in active are names are not instances and consistive three bad. If it iff nearly 1 M interest used Nehru as his primary Indian nounding board for vital information asking for sample. This own estimate of reads.

In u said the essential thing to realize about Jinnah is that he is a sure who was come very set in her at over sate. Before hat a near been a many lique reasonable lawyer, but not an especially good one.... The secret of his success—and it had been tremendous, if only for its emotional intense.

The lonew that Pakistan could never stand up to constructive criticism, and he had ensured that it should never be subjected as the secret of the secret of the secret of the secret of his success—and it had been tremendous, if only for its emotional intense.

The lonew that Pakistan could never stand up to constructive criticism, and he had ensured that it should never be subjected.

The second secon

NEW DELHI (1947)

The new vicesoy next met with Liaquat Ali Khan, whose attempt to soive India's economic problem had met with such strong Congress opposition that he had finally, agreed to cut his projected excess profits tax from 25 to 46 percent. But Mountoatem doe not find I aquat as antellectually strough any or serious, supposing a Vehru, and no hourt of real infimace ever developed netween them.

Monthatten speet over sea hours talking as private with Gardle arfive separate meetings from March 31 arough April 4, during which the Mahatma proposed that

Mr Jinnah . be given the option of forming a Cabinet. . . . If Mr mah accepted its offer the Congress would guarantee to coopera e tree y and s neere y so long as Al Lie measures that Mr. Imtails Cid not bring forward are in the interests of the Leftan people as a whole . sole referee of what is or is not in the interests of Ind.a as a whole will be Lord Mountbatten, . . . Mr Jinnah must stipulate, on behalf of the League . . . that, so far as he or they are concerned, the will do their atmost to preserve peace throughout India. . . . There shall be no National Guards or any other form of private army, . . Within the framework hereof Mr Junah will be serteetly tree to present for accommunes a solvene of Pakestan, everbefore the trans or of power proceed however that he is successfel n lis a spenito reason a win to the liver of arms which he also pures for all a for this purpose Thus feet will be no compale on In this matter over a Province or part thereof. . . . If Mr Jimnh rejeets this offer the same offer to be made neutatis embandis to Cougress. #7

When Gancin initially proposed this ingenious force la Mounthatter adonted this laggered the I asked What would Mr. in an axis to such a strongs. 12 The reply was It you tell him I are the author he will be "Wy y Gandhi." I Mounthatten their remarker And I presure. Mr. if in all will be right? To which he replied with great fervour No. I am entirely sincere in my suggestion." Gandhi's offer would never be conveyed to a numb. Mounthatten updefirst to comes the matter will white whose reaction was totally negative. Nehru was shocked to learn that he Mahatma was quite ready to replace him as promier with the Quand-learn. After telling Mounthatten how area as to a learn that he can be seen when he was the first out of the matter with their conclusions.

in how best to handle Jinnah and the Mishm League. Perhaps even if linnah were officied it cause central government on a platter with the whole cable of inder his person a courtor he might have dismissed it with a negative wave of his long-fingered hand. Yet it was an exquisite temptaon a clace before can it was a time out solution to India's obest, toughsi, greates political problem The Mahatma alone was capable a such alsolute conegation, such instant reversal of political position. Candhi ascontood J much well enough moreover to know just low potent at appeal all single that some of song toric generous offer would be a new It is gitt of have worked some all is was a king Sol man so alson. But Vehm had is dithricing of power too long to after its lect if to an one else-last of of to that medicers and es" the "reaction is Mis a hiron of Maladar if it as so it aim good Congress leaders thought of Juneau Neber cotiled Manufaction but the selecie was a fite a practical le even less ren-I new than a year ago" when Candle hall suggested the same men to the cabinet mission

Most llatter and Joseph for the first time on April 5 finding Him "now, a character, and a schools," The option of the mount came before discount in the state of the mountaintee, recording the major and with out and the Moon hatter entire garden and Mountaintee, recording. If mad obviously as paid his paper of the esse expecting Edwin to possess on seal of the major of the esses expecting Edwin to possess on seal of the part of the esses expecting Edwin to possess of the major of the major of the essession of the part of the major of the major of the essession of the essession of the major of the essession of the major of the essession of the major of the essession of the esses

Mr Jinnali claimed that there was only one solution—a "surgical operation" on India, otherwise India would perial altogether. I replied I retterating that I had not yet made up my mind, and pointed out that is not as a price leave single a operation. If gave no areas out to not wrones on a greater about his previous negotiations with Mr. Gaudati, . He emphasized, and tried to prove from this account that on the Muslim side there was only one on the other lands with unuely homself. But the same was not true of the representatives of Congress—there was no one man to deal and a land to the lands of the condition of the concentration of the control notation of the control notation is a surface of the control notation of the control of

grest neither could give a categorical answer on behalf of the party as a whole. He also spoke of the emotionalism of the Congress leaders. He accused Congress leaders of constant's shift of their front. They would stoop to anything... At the end of our interview after he had tend me a succession of long stories about how appallingly the Muslims had been treated, I informed him that what fascinated me was the way that all the Indian leaders spoke with such convertor.

They not sgare a April "with Lord Delay ouring the discussion that afternoon. Mentinatter trave by every means to get Jinnal to say a "won't necesit the Cabit of Mission about and critic the Constituent Assembly. Of think term men adamage however.

Next evening this met for two more hours and Mounthatten contained his resolve to receive and to be Bitish governor? how best to transfer Britain's power after hearing the work of all major parties. Unless the contained in the remainded of the parties to reach lagreement with the terminal date had been set.

I then asked him what, if he were in my place, his solution would be; and he repeated once more the demand for Pakistan. . . . I invited Mr Jinnah to put forward his arguments for putition. He recited the classic ones. I then pointed out that his remarks applied also to the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, and that by sheer logic if I accepted his arguments in the case of India as a whole, I had also to apply them in the case of these two Provinces . . he expressed himself most upset at my trying to give him a "moth caten Pakistan. He say, the common control is an included and Bengal was a bluff on the part of Congress to try and Irighten him of Pakistan. He was not to be trightened off an early, and he would be sorry it I were taken in by the Congress built.

On April 9, Mountbatten and Jinnah talked again for over an hour-Jinnah insisted that the Begin all and end all" of Pakistan was to have its own army

I told him that I regarded it as a very great tragedy that he should be trying to fonce me to give up the idea of a united India. I painted a picture of the greatness that India could act eve. I finally said that I tound hat the present Interim Constrom Government was every day working better and in a more co-operative sparit, and that it was a day-dream of infine to be able to put the Central Government under the Prime Ministership of Mr. Jinnah himself. . . Some 35 minutes later, Mr. Jinnah, who had not referred previously to my personal remark about him, auddenly made a reference out of the blue to the fact that I had wanted him to be the Prime Minister There is no doubt that it hid great I is did his viality and hat he had kept timiling over the proposition in his mind.

Mr Gandhi's farnous scheme may vit go through on the pure voulty of Mr Jinnahi Nevertheless he gives me the impression of a man who has not thought out one single piece of the mechanics of his own great scheme, and he will have the shock of his life when he reall has to cone down to each mad to, and take his vegue idealistic proposals work on a concrete basis.

And after three core he as alone with Jurnals or April 10. Mount ratter reported to his stall to the considered "Mr., and who a paid opening as: "The viceros had

brought all possible arguments to hear on Mr. Jamah bus, it seemed that appeals to his reason did not prevail... Mr. Jamah had not been able in his presence to adduce one single feasible argument in favour of Pakistan. In fact he had offered no counter arguments. He give the impression that he was not listening. He was impossible to argue with... He was, whintover was said, intent on his Pakistan—whole could some sign, result r. long, the Mus wis resparade Gamanago... until he had not Mr. Jimah he [Mountbattea] had not that it was solde to the reason of accounted a lack of sense of accounted the lack of the power which he did to

Long its ressert of the order of the order of the first of the blushing to live "0".

All the while communal riciting had continued to rack the Punjab. By until April, official entimates at some 3,500 dead in little core than a rountle

NEW DELHI (1947)

no hem counted approximately six fluidus and 5ikhs for every Muslim i mor d. "One of my troubles has been one extreme con placenes of the League leaders in the Puman who say in effect that boys will be boys," i circled cash us, who estimated by then that "Ev ry British official or the 14 S and IP in he stands him along ressett would be very glan to leave I official or the 14 nm of them that we are dealing with prople who are out to leave the transfer of them selves. The North West Frontie was also all use with at last man of them forms than reaced by flavores that blood-dreushed sing Hombay was placed under a six to-drawn curriew, as we therefore the transfer of leaths, for stimulation or the head of my more intense, fired by runners of imminent partition.

Che Minister S brawards noped to say Bong, the agony of a second to his farigeess, nil b inwares Blog opposents of second to his farigeess, nil b inwares Blog opposents of second good and a same for the or brongs. With deagn of the second and same for the or brongs. With deagn of the second and busing forbeth se highly developed, section a another to a first words of the first of the second of the second

Mounthatten f and Linquist All Main much easier to one with their June and that I was more her be train this objects and readily reason as causes a eine with Linquist for two horrs on the evening of April a taking him into confidence, as to

how my mind was beginning to work towards a solution. I started off with Patistan and complete partition of the Punjub and Bengal and Assam. I told him that I had no doubt that the Indian leaders and their peoples were in such an hysterical condition that they a will all g adly agree to my arran, as then as to the Assam He nodded his bead, and said "I am straid everybody will agree to such a pran, we are all in such a state." I told him that the worst service I cound do to India, if I were her enemy or completely indifferent to her fate, would be to take indivantage of the extraordinary as a country of the property of the extraordinary as a country of the property of the extraordinary as a country of the property of the extraordinary as a country of the extraordinary as a large of the extraordinary as a large

That talk with Laquat sealed India's tragic fate. Mountbatten was completely soncere in what he said after Lagrat mount all admitted that even Jinnah would accept the triple part tion plan, for Mounthatten was wise enough to apt capate the horrors of slashing a subcontinent so forbired by religious plutaits, into competing national taggings. He indesstood indead too well the pittally and cangers it assiding the are of windrawng the loreign troops and impartial - access and of leaving the unlittered, pre diced fearful, superst ious masses to battle t out to fall onto one that er venting their lears and spleen on neighboring vinage and irban ward. He sensed, in fact, that "the worst service I could do to ludia, if I terre her enemy or completely indifferent to her fate, was precisely what he would do ast a few contlas at or voicing those dread words. He did not want to do this Quite the contrary of course. He had gone ou to save ndin to heal its a ninets to offer prace not the sword of our tion. He indi Lake Mounthatten loved In ha and the Indians. They were ready or risk then accounted the so in fact daily in the service of these propose anod, comment most recovery jed gopic But there was no a her solidion

foundliss read pairs the intersection would have not a fursing the serv land and as the people Merital after lover most in 0 such as g. S. h., over to Junali whom a considered "proceedings". Principle and a new time but blacket a de and distribution for a need the said of the but blacket a de and distribution for a function of the Point and Bengalias set. The best servant became every servant to cada would soon this find since finding of to present the winst service I could note that "And that right after Language to the Meritalium over servant and part to know in those writing. I have a repression that Mr. I raquit to know instruction of help the find a note see able solution than this mad Pakishin."

A but shipognal strong saw Jimah at this bine reported to the vivein value executor as "most disturbed street of mand" which made
that All palvise Mounthatten, "It was possible that Millians was did
to me no hash that he was beweldered by the impression that Millians in the street are land Scott also got "the impression that Millians that he has several land Scott also got "the impression that Millians that he has many several to the interior that the process had the allowed to take its course had well that a possible did not be allowed to take its course had well that a possible did not be allowed to take its course had well that a possible did not be a did not allowed to take the course had well that a possible did not be a did not

Krahna Menon continued to keep in touch with Mountbatten, who we have to be self-active as we paster a recognition of the stacks, and finally to get bases in materials to get bases of the British, and finally to get bases in materials.

shrewd" in return, nowever eautioning Nehrus closest advisor on fureign illust hat unless field a remained. The British Communicable Passistan which was most assous to do so might soon hi ld up its armed forces in animosy superior to those of Hindustan and I pressured that places here karach won rebecome big navid and to bases within the British Communicavealth. Krishan Menon "about tell shandlered" at that prospect and around it to do all he could to be province Nehm and have to request dome non status for haum as a fact tack soon did despit. "firm provious of grass of millioness hat India would become a completely independent source and hite."

Vision less believe a Mountbatter tried to before distance award on policies, but forture the conversation on such occasions award on policies, but forture the conversation on such occasions award on policies, but forture along the conversation of such occasions award on policies. But for the tried as a calcular taken to the tack the file Mounts word light for separation and along the sees were integrant to the last of conversation of the tack of the personal taken to the tack of the personal taken to the first of the tack of the personal taken to the tack of the subject of done and the Misher compacts as a Late Mounthalten to object between acceptance to give now define answer as a gall the much at the personal taken to the personal taken to the first of the personal taken to the first of the personal taken to the first of the personal taken to the personal taken to the first of the personal taken to the first of the personal taken to the personal taken t

Hy the end of April the Missian length bad a clear unifority in the Pullad and the lawar of Milindux them and differ that Governor Jenkers is proper to the first 1980 of the 1980 of Jenah hould went to Minni and the first defined don't the vicerty ke his governor ratus. It is standed to the milindux that the standard hout the vicerty ke his governor ratus. It is standard to the first house that the first pullation of the standard for the pullation of the standard forming this said in the vicert of the viceron information for the first house the first and the standard forming this said in the viceron filter and the continuous forming the said of the viceron filter and the continuous forming the said of the pullation of the first pullation of the fir

1 the record of the first of the course part as 1 inches in the Commonwealth. Mr. Jinnah roplied "Of course part as 1 indi-

cated to you that Pakistan would wish to remain within the Commonwealth." I corrected him and said, "No, you took me that if the Pakistan Government was formed, its first act might well be to ask to be admitted to membership of the British Commonwealth." He corrected me, and said I completely misunderstood the position, it was not a question of asking to be admitted, it was a question of not being kicked out. He said that Mr Churchill had told him. "You have only to stand firm and demand your rights not to be expected from the British Commonwealth, and no are bound to be accepted. The country would never stand for the expulsion of toya, members of the Empire."

Whatever Mounthatten and its staff thought of families near all state he could be a used the use as sharpones or his logal near the conditional property correct in low hoff and legal open in at the made concast and newhorest save of commonwealth membership.

Millionals tool be that he had anned Sir Stufford Creaps what form a grantini on the fransier of power was held to the he. Month's feet come of to report on that late april meeting, bould be count on the first third the world be made from that lated on particular world be granted the same providege as other onesthers of the Bit set. Common distribution of the same providege as other onesthers of the Bit set. Common distribution is the made. Empire Sir Stafford Creases retired the was out in particular of any other pasts of the set of the same in the late of the same and that the Millional state. This kie a shawer he evaded the question of that the Millional state of the heads of the results of the same that was a state of the same constitution for the head of the particular state of the same the same that the same constitution of course, than to call him "a true lawyer."

I sale explained the construction misting that Pakistan most near the thin the British for more the core not more against to concern the core not more against the consect of consect and the second with the few of spaces are so dishounts to consect and the second with the few of spaces. The Michigan the conty way of giving Pakistan a chance is to make it an independent nation of the British anonwealth, with its own array, and the right to argue cases at any central Council on this basis." That was to be his trump that in defence of his newborn nation, no matter how "math council state it might be.

Jimud's hopes for Bengal remaining united were shared by Liaquat, a come 1 sector 1 be the horizontal in sector a new Bengal as he was convisted in his own tone that the province would never the 1 confidence of the sector and the state of the state of

TETAN NEW DELEU (1947)

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chance the "Schaistan might join up with Parkstan and that the Mushin Leagle would offer them very generous terms at Jimich had severy secretimed might ach such the fewlers in witing the mahavara of Parksia and Baldey Singh, and tried to induce them to join Pakistan. Nebru and Patel were more that the first parks are to the role were as Master Tara Singh, loyal to India, and Baldey was to retain control over Indias mans by a few new of the first calculated product of the without and obtailly believed till the bitter end that he might be able to avent the month disaster of a reasonage that Benga and the Puth with a stress of a unified Eastern Bangadesh on its own.

The non-Look at roller in It has the more I rease that all this part or bis pass is did ring, ass no signification reduce the est among efficience of the whole con try mine so rish " Mountbatten wood from on May 1. "No-one would over aidace me to agree to it were it not for the funtastic communal machess that has seized everybody and leaves no other course open . . , one small horrifying example my wife had Miss June ! She old & sa Jame I that she has spear tout morning at the andy from Carlege and was so delighted to fine him happed that prostitution was working and on what excellent terms the Hindu and Musha girls were. . . . To this Miss Jinouh replied 'Don't be misled by the am parent contentment of the Malm greathers whaten't been able to a cit our propagands in that college yet.' . . . The Hindus are nearly as have . . . The most we can do . . . is to put responsibility for any of these is in decisions fairly and squarely on the Indian shoulders in the eyes of the world for one day they will butterly regret the decision they are about a make, "60

The M. inthatt is flow up to Soula for a week's loliday taking Sch and us daughter Indua, as house guests. Throug and real freene will Nichro during his stay here." Mountbatten wired his chief of staff, Lord Lord and The Mountbatten wired his chief of staff, Lord Lord The Plan for voting on partition], as an act of friendship and on the understanding that he would not utilise his prior knowledge or mention to his deagues that he had seen it. He readily gave this undertaking and took that to hed "14" Next morning Nehru wrote Mountbatten that the plan he had previowed "frightened took". The mounts were set aside and an entirely new picture presented in picture of gard not an entirely new picture presented in picture of gard not an entirely new picture presented in picture of gard not an entirely new picture presented in picture of gard not an entirely new picture meaning and the state of the second not be not as a second not seen and the second not seen and seen and the second not seen and the second not seen and the second not seen and seen

It will be a disaster "to Mountbatten reported Nehrus "bombshell" to Ismay suggesting that in view of this reaction some "reducting of the slam" would be required at this mind attime isked Mountbatten to 6s home onless be preferred having Cripps, Alexander, or the new secretary of state, Lord Listowel 6s out to New Della to consult with him on the spot Mountbatten chose to go to London.

Before fiving from New Delhi in mid-May Mounthatten showed his resed proposed plan to La int. I then asked him whither the Mishim
Langue was going to accept partition of the Punjah and Benga. to which
repeat We shall never agree to the but you haven ke us now to the
evitable. It till him it was essential that If it did become inevitable, all
said is should give the republic greenment to avoid bloodsted and that I
proposed to raise this with Mr Junah. Mi

unades reaction to the Mc initial of dar was even, more regal ver had a serie. The Median League in not agree to the metricine of Bergal and Le Bareah. Learne wrote. It among to instead before also common cally capturedly politically or most. These process have built to their respective lives for nearly a century... and the only ground which is put one and for the part time self or the areas where the Hudos are sisten are a more such as the separated from the rest of the growness. The self-understands for the Had has two postness and if the continuities concerned a self-understands had been also a fatefrom. Calcula should be made a free and Manager and Manag

At 10 Downing Street, on the evening of Ma. 19, 1947. Mountbatter abouted Preme Menster Attere and his Carmed colorings a that "It and a me chair that the Meshre League would resort to arms. I Pakestan in more long, even of conceded "I Januah was interviewed as Rectors the 12" and demanded an \$100 mile ring "corridor" of I'rk West and East have in premising a "real" hereford l'relationship between Pakestan and I to a and offering. Hindustan in "friendin and recursion all tance in Compress reactions to the "corridor" demand proved so strongly negative that it never became a serious issue, receiving even less attention than the let that the alout should be a reage as they port. Then Januah wired the contribution of the

Artshna Menon fless to Landon in inform Mounthisten on May 21 U.

Nehru and Patel were "ready to accept" lomanon status if it were offered to linear in 1947. "As I are anxious that there should be no more adverstanding I am writing a conceven bough I have seen you this morner. Writing confident wrote Mesophatics brown lind a House that same day. "If Mr. I'm are exacts a total separation and that strength awar and the same day." If Mr. I'm have exacts a total separation and that strength awar and the agree to a further sake of react and dismonther our country we want to be red in him on far as the afteres of what is lett, onus of our country are concurred. I feel sure you will appreciate the analysis had to be red in but is fundamental." The Congress has begin to be an that in another six mentas they would use the basteria Punjah and sikh support as well as Colesita and W stern beingul possible one of the princely status assumes by lydera an ancikh support his respect of the princely status assumes also lydera an ancikh support his remarkant of the beadache. ""

Attler's firm hard, remainer () for any the Conservative opposition I Pay ament who could cas a have land on the lade and enter a last a Bill or a prolonged and act or along Commons debut that would be rigide transfer of mover a 1947 a passible. Wheat they went rea idvs "Mr Cherely' is ned" an empled he experie in exters aredice and eas with a fault charm for advator the fire sic powers of the eigenstick and the action becomes trad a by textical t then asked him if he would advise me how I should proceed if Jinnah a anotrans gost. Me hatten reported the the git about it short alone in and finally same "To begin a the con risk limite. Take awar ast British officers. Ove terr to ital voits without British officers. Make it clear to them how repossible it we see by a rap Pakistan without Principle. Mourabaster agreed to try and folious some state of a la more my a tant I actually managed to get Church to give La a 'persona' riches. for Jinnah, stating "This is a matter of life and death for Pakistan, if an the not accept this after with and have s. to Charachill's words are an weight with Jama's than those of any eather a up person as Mor I are wel, know The final obstacle was now removed from the path to partition. With Cherchil, on board, it was 'fe ahead for the Moral at which was to mmy two "mot leaten, went here computer exact contill a bitter new dominions into the British (in . . ave de-

On Mooday morning, June 2, 1947, India's teaders drove into the New Court of the viceroy's house in New Delhi Liaquat and Nishtar analysing Jensey Free and Scheme Scheme

"The atmosphere was tense," reported Mountbatten, "and I got the feeling that the less the ladders aiked the less the chance of fraction and herbaps the ultimate breakdown of the meeting . . . I reported on the most helpful attitude of His Majesty's Government and the Opposition. the leaders to let me have their replies before midnight. . Jinnah said he would come in person at 11 p.m. after they had seen their Working Committee, I kept back Jinnah after the meeting . . to impress on him that there could not be any question of a No from the Lesgue." That most have been when Mouramatten delivered Charcha's message. The viceros by now thorough! disenchanted with Court by possibly tio is so an undelivered "message" from Churchill wrote. He m., he n saint but he seems also to be a disciple of Trotale. The Mahatma arrived at Mount batters's ady door balf in hou latter he others had gone off to read their cope softhe day, It was Candle with intraceracy and sorted has commerts on bits of paper Jimah had also done same dood of gith titur and on itig a scrap bell id that seemed to show rockits, towns rackets, and halloons going and has "Coverno. Unique will all a gotes across the center page the Chaid. Again apparently emoving the sight of I s facare table 22

At 11 o'clock that might meah came round the spen half on hour conversing the product of his Working Chira the uga ast he partition of the Provinces. . . . I then asked him straight out whether his Working Competitive were going to accept the plan. He replied that they were "hopeful," I then asked him whether he intended to inceept it himself to wheth he replied that he would so piert the occupant and and attook to use in very cost error ason's to get the All-India Muslim League Council to accept. . . . He had called an urgent meeting next Morday. . . . I shally usked him whether he felt. I we lid se stiffed in advising the Firms Minister to go a read and make the announcement, to which he replied very firmly "Yes." ***

Mount valles met to confer with his seaff the new morning and reported list, a Borts Uget Juna 1 recept the new new ling but in amount it, essent would have be agree provide his council's meeting.

Mounthatter her removed Jinnah that the Congress Parts were terribly suspicious of this particular tactic, which he always used, when he washers of the Congress Parts had made a firm decision out to meet her took he well do ngut to ake washever decision suited the Modern Lengue. . Nothing Mountbatten could say would move bim. . "If that is your attitude, then the leaders of the Congress Party and Sikhu will refuse final accordance at the ascetting in the mounting, choos well follow, and you will lose your Paktetan, probably for good." "What shut the mount be," was his

only reaction, as he shrugged his shoulders. . "Mr Jinnahl I do not need to ethou wrete all the work that has gone into this settlement hince you will not accept for the Moslein League I will speak for them myself. . I have only one condition, and that is that when I say at the mercing in the norming "Mr I much has given me assurances which I have accepted and which satisfy me," you will in no circumstances contradict that, and that when I look towards you, you will not. . "Jinnah's reply to the proposition itself was to nod."

The formal announcement was made on the night of June 3. Bhupal, Pattala, and the prime ministers of a dezer many prime is stated in self-free two bradecus, to the work A. 7 to get the reap of the San before two bradecus, to the work A. 7 to get the Radio carrier the pattern wood case for the same first by the versor the movement agreement specifics from Nebra June h. Baldey Suigl. The viceroy announces.

On February 20th 1947 His Manesty's Coverage at announced their intertion of transferring power by June 1948. We have hoped that work house do in the major pathes to a operation. This hope has not been fulfilled., the procedure outlined below to indice the pest practical without of accretioning the wishes of the people... to determine the authority or authorities to whom yower should be transferred.

Then followed a provincial and district breaktown of "Pakistan with size lications as to now ogestative assembly relicitions would be head to deed to by "a simple ration for or sganse partition" provincial as well as national To "avoid dich." differer, provinces or parts of a raintee would, "stocked independently and the exist, constituent assembly a well as the new constituent assembly. I formed show a proceed to frame Canastitutions." These postes would be free to fir, in their own rates. He blocked to see an envision of setting up an indica ideal to be found to be a necession as setting up an indica ideal to be found to be a necession of setting up an indica ideal to be found to be governments." By an even ear or date. Accordings. He block is second or true transfer of power that year on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the textures along a result of this in nouncers of "Mou tha en powered."

"I am glad that I am afforces to open or its to small some north through U s radio tone. New Dobn restore Kee Let a rea Mountbatten and Nelsen had Brusbed their speeches, "It is the first line I believe that a non-official has been ulforned an apportunity to arkives prople through the medium of this powerful instrument on political matters. It a gury well, and hope that in the future I sho have greater fact these to enable and to over my values and epit, as a such with reach you directly after some rather than in the cold print of the newspapers. "Throughe sed he must have been how proud to be seated the enabledesing millions of steners—a vier table viceron at ong last.

The state of the s

On the morning of Jen. 5. Moral satter it, with the poll and leaders again route the next value in a coffer to be see I codo it steel ce consequences of poll-ton see an afficial brinds a new parties departered by a discount of the polline seems to reach to be the steel of the polline seems to each or the same base of a spread of any and in every way. Next is much don't star he is not have of a spread of a set of the same busines of a spread of the star of the same busines of a spread of the star of the same business and the sa

The last meeting of the All odia Mus in magor was seld on New Och s magnificent Imperial Hote co] r 5-10 1947 Sona 125 Mister are gathered a but it are grand baltoon over justing II ish and with the rocket row by one distant the most from the or king Way at to Te The at was me at those semptions alarges it prince out quiet that long or had Boths resulting in it, it services and prime ton this second native land to the ment of the pro the transaction of this exchand retire a surring its estimate of hers. as a the Martatt opened per don hat her Jorden But not for time Military Wishmood so on to many province orthodox minahs I'm six lam od has most it most to eac from the bagain merting ewell are condensuates who nated the thought of giving Calcuta or e il al "mah ar od our a gi h as de le ha room agains the plane calling it "betraval," and a "tragedy for Pakistan." Khaksars rushed in and a second of the refer many the note former brandshing helehas, or sharpened spodes . . shouting 'Cet Jimah' . . . half-way up taircase leading to the hallroom where Jinnah and the Gouncil were in session before . . . League National Guards could grapple with them and turn them back. It tuck police with tear gas to bring the disthanks to a coding to a first knew a week 15 5 F 10 (CST)

and notel guests up the punge "ran helter-skelter" while those in the "dining hall sat down for their dinner with tearf a eyes as the tear gas spread in the had. Mr. I read, however continued the proceedings of the meeting untrammelled by the disturbances on the ground floor A few demonstrators, who found their way into the meeting half were soon ejected. On the of floor of the Hoter, Misslan League Naumar Guards and Khaksar demonstrators clashed . . . broke furniture and smashed glass panes 6 few persons systemed rounes "s morroug news reported

Inside the grand ballroom, Jinnah was bailed as "Shahenshah-e-Pakistan" literally, "Emperor of Pakistan"; in the Persian style of Iran's monarch. but he was quick to disclaim that title, orging his supporters not to a "ea" t and ins sting. I am a soldier of Pakistan nor its Emparor. Thomy the ar medicine in case its. Valla hobal lightly sent a transcript of shorthand notes on the proceedings presupably taken by a Congress spy!" to Mount butter a ion after the a cetting ended " The largue's course gave fell an thority to President Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, to accept the fundam that principles of the Plan as a compromise and to leave it to him with the artherby to work ast a the delans of the Plan is an equatable and just manner . " [[tailes added]"

That League reso it on caused a howl of it dignation? from the Cargress press and war aid letters of protest trotal Nebra, and Patel "who wis a Maint after the express Telas that the work a not be after to a range the All and a Congress Committee in view of the Incident of the League Condia definite announcement that they accepted the plan as a settlement It ies a fed M M is a gradots core frozenier even more ortrag d at how for from the original P Austar Jonated Jin. It has good toward as 112 ing the plan and Bullman Alia Pakist in National Movement of Cambrille now demounced it as "The Greatest Betrayal" to the "whole Millet (Max as Commanity " writing,

It has now been completely betrayed, bartered, and dismembered by Mr Jinnah, whose act of accepting the British Plan shatters tofounds, one of all its nations and countries and subortion the first inof all its 100 million members living in the Continent of Dinis . . . unless on ified it will forever apply the lift of the Pas Nation blight the existence of the Millat in Dinia, and compromise the freedom of the Frateralty throughout the world. . . We will carry on the fight to the end. . . . We will never quit or capitulate. . It shall never be said of us that, when the time came to choose betivecable great staff and the Allia problem and albeing be we too tollowed the quislings and chose betrayal. Long Los The Millatin

The first meeting of the interim government's cabinet following the announced plan almost led to a fight between Neart, and Liaquat over Jawa-LarlaTs appointment of his sister. Middar e Pandet to be an an lassador, at which soint Mountbailen shouled. 'Gent men, what hopes have we of getting a peace-able partition if the first discussion leads to such a disgraceful scene as thus?"46 The answer, of course, was "None!"

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2.

Karachi-"Pakistan Zindabad" (1947)

On June 20, 1947—embers of the bengal legislative assembly voted for partition of her processes a sign major. There does later the Principles of North Principles of Sanda solution to the community representation to be also benefit above and horizontal registrature also voted, 33 to 20, to join Pakistan. This we can be look upon the creation of Pakistan on the 15th August as legally ferrice upon," Mountbatten reported on June 27.

Jinnah was invited into the viceroy's office that day to sit with Net ... and Pat as we' as fair that due Burney in a new partition con all which addressed itself to the creation of boundary commissions, Four 1 1 court adjes the closer by Campaign at two by the I ran more to on each on tiss noor safet ning the Penjah and Benga. I mad a ggested Britain's distinguished sameteer for Coss Radelife to hair these heart commissions had affe who has never over vis. co India and expression no known opinions on its problems was unanimously accepted and would so decide the destiny of millions of Hindus. Silchs and Muslims by the of his repeatedly required vasting vote Nehr 5 absequently exp so 1, misgings about Radel ffr because of his case Concervaly and the and he arged that the federal court serve instead as final arbitrator, he Ir nah was adonus by opposite Rade the reached New Orlly on I giving him precises five weeks to draw the name to place a whose a term disputes he both sounds as a cover tall 10 million refugees would be comfied on choose the pors.

Separate committees went to work to portition the army and other ments of the wast to a refer to the state of the state of

ming for some marry years. Mounthatten hoped and indeed expertee to be asked to stay on as joint governor general over both new dominions, as once symbolizing their triends, and continued cooperation is one expediting the process of the final division of assets in an equivalent parties. I much any hear nothing of that, however, insisting he must become governor-genera. of Pakston himself. Jamait suspected both Mounthatiens of men favoritist to Congress knowing how into sale they were wit. Nahru, air, feared nat lakastan might be comprounsed or possible suffer as a stellahd under Mountbatten, Jinnah was also scutely conscious of the tuberculosis consurring los hings and knew itt it me removed to his life. He was eager to enjoy at least a taste of power to which he had given so men or as a p ctus. As I time manster however he would give been say fled with dails pelaced as well as administrative risponed to a and pre-creed to leave t ose to a longer time Billing governor general a old roke him ever move with Mountbatten, Attiee, Smuts, and all the other heads of dominions of the Contragwealth acasolic over It was visal through and worthy of a Quart Asian. And it soon of a fitting first and only pushfor for lar to hold in the nation he had need

It will be remember d that I reported to the Cabinet Committee that a today put to virtual and report to the the Cabinet of acts of finding Monitohites and to Just 4. Actors I were to London to the other that although he the glit we Governor Gener Is would be better than one he asked in specifically to stay of any new your considerable of the other two distributions of the other two distributions and the stay of the other two distributions are the other two distributions and the stay of the other two distributions of the other two distributions to metale.

Industrial expension dependent orients on British officers to head of hier in literary review, while Field Minesha, A remerk or all common oriented over the own mand of both downton arrows for against half a year follows. Against lack to be a first and of task governors, at my Sir John Cole, of done in a man Sir Are above No. 4. Madras to real temperature trades in hear same official expensions. Nothing Minesh butten could say made Jinnah budge from his resolve to take direct control task say. We can be a say of the country of the major each and are the country of the say of the country of the major each and the country of the major each and the say of the country of the say of the s

the very the first to the first two man can common on July 18, when the operand the final debate of the Indian Indepen-

Indian affairs. . . . This Bill will launch . . a new and, let us hope, a happier era "A allee conorded the debate that passed this historic measure, thus set ing up two "Independent Domainions" of India and Paristan on August 15, 1917 On Frida. July 9. King George VI added his tallsman ciscal of assent to the new act.

Junah held a gress conference in mid-July and "assured" minorities in ats in, note do annou that they would have "protection with regard to their religion to it. In the property and call are They would an all respective citizens of Pakistan without any discrimination... The same principle and would apply to the minorities in India as well. ... Mr. Jinnah singuercy hunced that the relations between Pakistan and India would be friendly and coronal.

"I resigne oyself felabstically to the coronal disaster." Penderel Minn wrote tha July. "It we case to pred et disaster but what was the conference to would take?" At Senior Septembriant of coher cache asker for its control as to what we disappen appear as piece rules but term. "There has of lessing its drawn in the bun ab all Selbs to the west of it and all Muslims to the east of it will have their chapter of "and Angle Athonorands it Selbs and all industrials control of the learnest of t

In New Jobs the atomic coal turn government virtually ceased to I in toon Nehri and I a lat were how a spinking to one another by, all provisional administrations for India and Pakistan I not a spinking to one another by, all candles to dough those as a refer to week who, the assets of a solvion timent with I holder; the ratest hasts applied tash on a continuous treat I holder; the ratest hasts applied tash on a continuous to a value hostile divorcing couple might of an evening sort out their presess. Covernor general les gnate, and was own soft in his to see all the mansion in New Delhi bringing a handsome profit from a Marwari metechant, and the estate stop Maabat Hill in Boushny going to a Wessen-European consulate Fatima supervised the packing, for all had to be all August 7, when the Jinnaha flew off to Karachi to prepare their new nor not of the latest veck in 1811 to 1812. The latest latest has administ of the

I got both Jinnah and Nebru to agree that the Navies would fly the white ensign at the ensign staff and the Domaion Flag at the jack staff and that the Gover one General would fly the regi ar Dom won Governor General's Flag with the Ring's crest and the rone of the Domaion. When I showed Januaro he design of his new flag he almounted that he had changed by sound and he intereded to design his own flag with his own monogram on it, and he regretted that he could not allow his ships to fit the whote ensign. He was only saved from being struck by the arrival of the other members of the Particus Council at this moment. If wever I seen Ismay routs, to hear him up as soon as possible at digitally desired that the Pakistat. Navy should fly the white ensign, and takend glibly about the "breaterhood of the seas".

The Mountlattets invited Junal, and Futini to this with them on a day has 25, and as 6 as pixel Johnson receiled "It was quit a small comprising only House guests and so no of Mountaines staff Junals one letter are polised for conversation by cracking a series of very length and generally added to keep with an interest every out the invites much as high to the guests acts. In made a replace to the least of his sources to had. Must hat one I all new off not attempted across the table with a taux Marin attent which has the hear this one. It is coston as nor the Vienn representing the king to precede his guests to and true the during nor a line in rechards this discount was overs to Junals so up a the same and as The Freetlenees are walked out with them." Junals of ourse considered sense fine eastern Lord Mountbatten at this point, the governor-general of his own his nous the power.

The rulers of the princely states all knew that by August 15 they had to come of the at its document since British paramounter and its content of the at its document since British paramounter and its unit and its restriction of the area of that day of the area of the at the at the area of the at the at the area of the at the bit of integration into a dominion toward which its nawab folt the strongest personal at the kalmin and the first paramounter the area of the attended at the bit of the area of the area of the attended at the bit of the area of the attended at the attended at the area of the attended at the att

that to see a second of a second second second second second and democratic demands. The nizam of Hydra sad preferred to join Pakistan, if he was not allowed to constant and project t but surrounded as to

was by Indian territory and with 85 percent of his state's population flinds, he was forced the following September by "Operation Polo" to integrate his a major with a the Indian union.

Mahatma Candha trekked off to Noakhali in Bengal to seek to calm communal passions there on the eve of partition, and rouch to Mountbatten's Grapht

Gandhi has announced his decision to spend the rest of his life in Passit... booking after the seasons this wal after the just he has a well he a great relief to Congress for, as I have said before, his influence is largely negative or even destructive and directed against the only man who has his feet firmly on the ground, Vallabhbhai Parel. **

Joseph picked I atemant General S. Frank W. Messervs, the commander of the northern army of British India, to serve as Pakislan's British India, to serve as Pakislan's British India, and the northern and Sesservs, su intend a loss distantage of the Meantholes, a cr. that the Nort Wes. Fresher defence to command for the northern and her a fet vicingth, momentate after August 15, 1947.

"Mangate II in the second of the northern and selection of the Northern and Sesserval and the statute of the Northern and Northern and the statute of the Northern and the Sesserval and the Sesserval and the statute of the Northern and the N

I touth and his sister flew out at New Delta, as ne scenaris Dissola on the theorems of Agust 7. The sames if a more sort which, at the about 5 km, and old close of racketar June and recorderate across the same at 5 and old or hord over the Araban Sia. Refugers keep pear metate kare in along core road is the presence port grew over pight of a national capita with a population and in goal of a result of more than a contract of the road road the import government has a form of business ned most of the road road the import government has a form of the residence of the government has a form of the steps of the white Victorian mansion, Jinnah turned to naval Lieutenant S. M. Alemanassistered from Mornthatten staff to the Quard. As as a condison. Day you know, I never expected to see Pakistan in my lifetime. We have to have the green grateful to Good for what we have a sheered."

Two days after Sand's governor exect for Gho. His last to Lal mah's old Bembay comparion, gave a posh party in honor of his leader at the elegant Karachi Chib, where jumah said. "Yes, I am K is born, and it was on the sands of Karachi that I physical marbles in my blood. I was schooled at Karachi. Lat us have each other let under the control of the

every class is represented in this huge gathering—let us work in double shall it necessary to make the Sovereign State of Pakistan really happy reall—mitted and really powerful—in

Pakistans constituent assembly met in Kurachi for the first time on Auzust 1, and mountais coected Junua to preside over its meetings, and neuderous upparse as its first business Jonal took the chair chanking he assembled deserates for

the greatest bonour that is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to comfer—by electing the as your first President. . . . I sincerely hope that . . . we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform the first structure mechanism of responsible assembly has for trucing our fease (make our of Paksia, and the second of the couring as a full and comparts Sovereig body as the Fed val Legislature of Paksian. We have to do the best we can. . . ⁴⁴

Then he seemed studde do a awaken from a at a man, around at the case of steeling has been distincted, persymment frame of structure for inspersion or easy structure and the structure frame of the major store or easy structure and the structure frame of the most state. For know really that not one, we consolves are with length of the structure for a state of the structure for a state of the structure of the str

Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foremost thing that I would like to emphasise is this—remember that you are now a Sovereign Legislative body and you have got all the powers. If therefore, places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this ..., You will no doubt agree with one that the first duty of a contract of the same that and religious beliefs of its subjects are all participated by too State.

Il contra la ner a contra quel

curses from which India is suffering ... is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible. Black-marketing is another curse..., I know that black-marketeers are frequent. a light and purished. Jid class sentences are passed or sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to takely it is monster which taday is a crossay, a time against society in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food. A citizen who does black-marketing commuts, I think, a greater crime than the highest amount are sold or less. These back anarketicers are made knowing. The agent and creditarily responsible people. ... I think they ought to be very severely purished, because they undermine the entire system of control... and cause wholes he starvation and want and over dust.

The next thing that strikes me is this. Here again it is a legacy which has been passed on to us... the evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relemblesby. I want to make it quite ofear that I shall never tolerate any land of pobbery, nepotism or any analysis of directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me... It know there are see it who under the larger with the division of India and the paration of the Puopal and beingal. Which has been said against it be now that it has been need the division of everyone of its talloyand of the base been need that the area of its talloyand of the properties of the larger restriction which is a way fire a non-bondurably act a cording to the agree set which is a way fire a non-bondurably net a cording to the agree set which is a way fire a non-bondurably net a cording to the agree set which is a way fire a non-bondurably net a cording to the agree set which is a way fire a non-bondurably net a cording to the agree set which is a way fire a non-bondurably net a cording to the agree set which is a way fire a non-bondurably net a cording to the agree set when the set and the set

But the question is, whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than what has been done. . . A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree at that who may not have it but raying degement there was no other solution and I am sure future history at I record as verdict a tayour of it and what is more if will be proved by actual experience as we go on that that was the only solution. . Any dea of a Linted India could never have worked and in my judgement it would have led us to terrific disaster. May be that view is correct, may be it is not, that remains to be seen. 12

Fig. second mable to move his mind from that every in passive the first time he pends halloward have a right of women to be in that might not have been correct, sensing perhaps that the worst part of the dream—the true tragic dightmare of partition was about to begin, the ancent waiting behind this "eyelonic revolution." All the value," he could be in this uncharacteristic frout but monorages of reflection before the partition has been accounted to the partition of the partition has been accounted to the partition of the partition has been accounted to the partition of the part

well as follow his every word in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other."

Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do? Now, if we want to make this great State of Palvitan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate in the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet on are bound a succeed a voc change your pas and work together in a spirit that everyone of you, no matter to what common is he belongs no mater what relations in has, with our in the past, no matter what is his colour, easts or ereed, is first, second and ast a citizen of this Site with equal rights, whereas and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make

I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spit Land to crise of the and these anglateries in the ration and ammorphe conmittee the all plants of the annual and the Massacraphic conmittee the series as regards Massacraphic and the Massacraphic constitution in the massacraphic constitution and as on and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Nashrana scholars, and Bengaria, Markeys and so one will variety linded to be ask on the base of the Lights of the angle of the massacraphic constitution in the massacraphic constitution of the second transfer of the angle of the

What a remarkable reversal it was as thingly be had been transformed so registioner again into the old. Ambassidor of 11 nd. Must in 10 ny that Sarojan Nada loved. As aimid was acception so the for regional colorious almost tree y associating as he cannot extemporaneously. Was the fact over now for was the fast over now.

You are free, you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. . . . You may belong to any religion or caste or creedthat has nothing to do with the business of the State. . . We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all concentrated copies an zeros of one Slave. The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government Today you might say adjusted the north of a digit will exists now is that every man as a catizen, an equal catizen of Great Britam all members of the Nation 4

What was he talking about? Had he sat my forgotten where he was Had the evelone o events a lisonanted free that he was arriging the opposition's brief? Was he pleading for a united India-on the eve of Pakis are betwee those hundreds of thousands of ten first anocents were saughtered fleeing the r homes, mur fie as their ancestra. Blages and usual g to an eter- to or oblivion or a retagge cam, in a strange and? New Yor governor control designate continued. I there we should a op in trent of as as our idea, and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Ir mas and Mas as would cease to be Musans not a the religious same, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the inditional arose as of the brate. I shall a ways he guided by the been ples or a street and for play without any as as pad to the post acad langilige propidize or Twill also liet words, partially or favour tism Mil good to prompte a see and condete in sait pality and I am sure and with your samport and a moral in I am how forward to Pawatan necentral on of the greatest batte on the world 4

Yet even as he concluded on so optimistic a note, remor had reached law, at ha as well as he are that the strategy Mashin major to Gorden in the strategy that the law and he was a law that rend access to hash not some gap to he are all to reach larger to the first law and well to the law and well to the friendly relations between law and the Bretser. A Maintration in stick however, the true has a contribution of faith us to import future friendly relations between law and the Bretser. A Maintration in stick however, the true has a contribution of the boundary come ansation at a hear into one of the whole boundary come ansation at a hear into one in an access the first had flown the boundary contribution of the had flown that the first the law of the soundary contribution of the soundary c

James and File in awarted the Me or thattens not at harden appertunit holds the ortranechal or government basis. At the had been decked up to look as also had been decked up as agreed and a first and a first were subjected to tak agreed and retakings under the hazarog tight at 1 and 1 and of the acres of the harden the terms and the control of the Mounthattens there that night. Liaquat and the other League leaders who had latened to his disjointed ramblings before the constituent assembly they insisted at the constituent assembly they insisted at the constituent assembly they insisted at the constituent assembly they have also well as works press would be represented in the basis of the first of the constituent and the first of the constituent and the first and the first of the constituent assembly they have the constituent as a first and the first of the first of

themen. I have great pleasure in proposing a toast to His Majesty the king "18 The world had been fashround for him by the best of his bright young carks Nothing or dus oast, was him his more the frail core that read it alone in such princt appendant sughth account. Here I would also to say him Feedman Lord Mounthatten, how made we appreciate your having carried out while hearted, the policy are the princt is calt was laid down by the plan of 3rd Jane. Passian and Understan will all down by the plan of 3rd Jane. Passian and Understan will assume appropriate apper lation for Paleston's neighbor than "Inch while was after as a start of the plan of the lating than while was different as a start of the sum of the traine of Messages."

Minim hatter sor at dissore hetween Mess Jinna, and Begain Laaquat Ali-Khan sid i pe ted. These both pulled in leg about 11 mid-sign ceretion is a 12-3 missing that it was as our doing that a responsible. Coverntiest could be gitted 15 as robuge s. I retrained from retoring that the whole kind to program in his had to be change. In a se John and significant was Ray was and had had to the go the limb airly and his right successful to a dismost part. The

Not infiming the Jiman's drive from the government house to the goldance acceptable half along the second of a second product of the second of a second product of a s

Your Excellency. I thank His Majesty on behalf of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and myself. I once more thank you and Lady Mounthatten for your kindness and good wishes. Yes, we are parting as friends. and I assure you that we shall not be wanting in friendly spirit with our neighbours and with all nations of the world?

Lady Mounthatten pressed Mass Jamah a hand affectionately as Jamah sat the set of the second of the second and remote it also has a magnetic quality, the second of leadership of

KARACHI- PARISTAN ZINDABAD (1947)

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nimost overpowering Here indices is Pakistan's King Emporor Architecture of Canterbury Speaker and Prime Manister concentrated into one originals a Quatic-Azam.¹⁰1

Mounthatten was still worried about a possible assussmation attempt a cleared that if it was going to be treed against Jinnoh their was the time wice he as governor general should be driven back to the government must fin an open carriage. "It occurred to me that the best way for me to the set in would be to insist or one rid ig in the same carriage you see."

If it dies recades, so ring I knew that no one in that crowd would east to tisk should, me. And tack hit workes beautifull but such wis line with a comment that the gates of taxour and the same time in attapped, by kneeling and. Thank find I was in the ring you wash the ring work wash.

In that the step is the New Delhi that afternoon for another round it is not not not not the step in t

The next corning B. He's "awards" were revealed, and as section to the the shugher wegan. In and around duction that the first says have only the could fire white in and around the Mode garge man of the "pelice share and here kneed at the parties that it is directly gens to the last and Sikes better that it is directly gens to the last and Sikes better that it is directly gens to the directly gens to the last and sikes better that it is directly gens to the last and seeks of the second where the last and seeks of August that the Latters took last and employed to a century.

In Bengal Gandhi fasted on Independence Day knowing how many were consequent to many could be but and them are modeln in Colors at assesses closed in or in Colors to the Armst 116 of the decreed so "inauspicous" by Hindu astrologers that no religious Brillians is the same of Long 1 Mes black or had flagge in opposition to partition, the viviacction of Mother India, Aldonal Parallelian Colors to the same than the same of th

sive? Sandy was restored to that premier city or easiern Ind.a. way ditt Gandbi undertoos a fast unto death to heap stop the killing of anocents

The austers Muslim month of Ramazar ended or August 18 and Jonnah broadcast an Id day message to his nation, amouncing that

This day of rejoicing throughout the Mashin world so aptly comies immediately in the wake of our national State being estall shee, and therefore, it is a matter of special agrificance and happiness to use all to the forest larger than the state of the

But the strength had gone our or him, but could carry on one after longer and longer rater ades of rest to bis lonely wis warg of the government house where only Futuria, the secretary scan I servants were per natted hadma saw it most clearly. She is me was cross enough to see that

even in his hour of triumph the Quarder-Azon was gravely ill. If watched with arrow and particle had little or on a, lettle and had even lest his a with to will houself the kell A. If is to ender with reports from both sides of the border of his rowing takes or mass creed around he ting. He began as one document there mass killings with me at breaklast and his handkerchief turtively often weak to his most even.

The Constitution had to be framed, and is applied his to no to this as often as he could. . He worked in a frenzy to consolidate Paksitar. And, of course he total is a site of is heady had his conglising and slight temperature were high rang. We are more and more At my mastener he agreed to be examined by Colonel Rahman his personal place and whe hagroosed a digit aftack of malaria. The Qualid, who had an average to medicine, said . . "I don't have malaria. I are just run down." Asked to rest he replied flatly," I have too much to do." **

He did not in fact base realistic He had consumption, soon to be compounded by cancer of the lungs.

In Knard Listoniko, dar usually started at 8.30 a.m. when he seated in is to below the argonic or with his papers were stacked, with his tired tracer or girth, away at heat port is and I's box of it glippings of the result of a wild or or a started and or only Proposition as whether the control of the con

I mad a frugative had been of course, well known, but since the birth of Pak stan be had better reason perhaps than over to guard racti rupes for he found, as he told Begur. Shall Nawar, one twent crores [200] ments rupees for the reason and nearly rupees forth exores of alls I age on the table "Me Nor was India villing to pare with substance, until voice safed in Pak stan by the formula agreed into form, all the path it is assets of the British rule. Path and Bendry were specially bother to our Pakistia, with the wherewith a old by India—whether in the Punjah Sind Kushmir or Benga.

John J. Ret. v. Low precentious Pakastan's pessition. He has own health was and second a sultime of the press of Acquet 24. 1957, and not all necessary the footbages per perfect diagnost Might necessary actions has been been assumed to people of a Pakistan was doing all in its power to "give succour and relief to the vicilins and to be acquet. Might is from force rized districts and states.

In the last wook of August, the Mayor of Karachi and his council as presented an "address of welcome" on vollum encased in silver to these O tida Azar was responded to the oli Monta Corporator Born man I s but are a count on small be and that is often har t "have kept to be as second at I have an early a most so much "to a lapace" is other parts of his samuel next floressocials religious works a the charles a to the release says and regular Blassed into king the front exerthe elect by area into a risk well as along has a made tropical year. source or its and services were a such lemant that pieces skyrige his For Juneaus in netoy as the hor a was of may flice it proportions and a as the Punjab withered and writhed in post-partition terment and pun-Stall began in blosse it is the kidnels back in the sanguars of a cosch and once springs Paks and entire now concesting the and a single friend and a few in nesweepers and a maker craft was based at karnel a tea tagong was still a village lit by kerosepe lanterns, a "port" with dock only for two ships at a time, at the landing of the British Change F. (Benga, the one building as yet capable of generating its own electricity.

Even as removeness for the Bright perdendier dike of kending space at watch to prosper provide left an ore. In his we recall the condess of each state reduces much as An itser and the tenders the sick and dying brought every need, demand, and physical begat with her batter and at the second at the second and the provided by arson and whose water supply was infested with the wirst deases of dead and dispregrating corpses thrown into its arteries. Its

south and an expension of the contract of the

"everyone's suppose"." Jonnah attended a Joint Indo-Pak Defence Council meeting chained it believe notwithstanding the Quanti Azam flew arts the Punjahi capital to see for braised how much dread damage and been on since his last visit to a rinor Sir Francis Mucic for her he governor of Sind, but been appeared by Jimal to replace Sin he an Jenkans on the eve of independence Jimah liked Mudle and lived with him in Lahore.

from the sested on dismanting the limitable locality. Force that Mountable had one and a more rearlier is not had proved with a ly isseless at the take of the triple is pits that exceed. He preferred to have he Mishmittoness of that 50 fifth and until had he made has the triples, she ad they be expanded to see the distribution to the against had be expanded to see the against take to Mishmits. If he ped to remain takependent is see the major and the pure traggard expenses the second of some of the mishmits and the pure traggard to per ladder and see freed to per ladder in Congress in the gence they had read and see freed to per ladder in Congress in the gence they had read to Suptember that the interm's givernment was trained party over gots. "Will not or not the promise of ways a counter from the self-that of the accommon of the promise of ways a counter from the solverighty of Pakistan.

is decreased from each ad later or a mouster Mr Lack A. J man's nost atrease of some in the pagents in arrange and a recorded

On more than one occasion we discussed the Pakistan Plan . . . and what would happen to the rest of the Muslims and the Muslim States, particularly the State of Hyderabad, One evening, early to September [1947], I received a long-distance call from Karachi the Governor-General. . . He . . . told me that the first delega-Hon of Pakistan to the United Nations would be leaving shortly for Lake Success and he had included me. . . . I mildly protested that 1 . . was too involved in my affairs and suggested that it would be more appropriato if some one from Palastan takes my place, ... I met Mr. Immah it Karach, he at the very start elaborated that Pakistan . . . was in orgent need of finances. . . He was aware of my personal contacts with the financial circles . . in the USA and some parts of Egrape. . He said Pakistan would accept any reasomable terms and offer "quid pro quo" short of affecting its hard carned sovereignty . . when I returned towards the end of Octoher, t. . managed to journey to Lahore, and saw him asking in hed The doctors had forbidden visitors but I was allowed to meet him for no more than built so hour I brookly reported the intuition to Tall top extra the transfer of the first ladic had withheld the agreed share of . . Reserve Banks cash balances amounting to some Rs 55 crore. There was hardly any money to meet the day-to-day expenses and the position was really critical India , believed that this very first blow would finish Pakistan. Cor ld Hyderabad state or the Nizam advance adoquate loan to Pakistan to the over the crisis?

. . Never in my life had I seen Mr. Jinnah emotional except on that day He asked me if I had seen the . . refugees as I drove from the airport. . . I had of course Tears rolled down his cheeks several times as he spoke of the mass human mesery . . Soon after that the Nizam sanctioned a loan of Rs. 20 crure to Pakistan. Mr Jinnah lost no time in publicly announcing that Pakistan had received a loan of that sum from Hyderabad and . . had no further financial problems . . the leaders of India were just wild and furnous over it 20

Jimmah had also sent Ispahalu to the United States as Fakistan's am bassados and deput reader of the I'N derigo in which foliage for an user Sign Monan med Zafri, an Khane ed is come pure asset a backing to Washington for 8 50,000 to serve as Pakistan's Chancery' and wrote Jimnah from New York in mid-September to report having

the the ton executives of General Motors Company who have taken proupl in a crocon rought of a Cash as super historic features. Mores has used as that arrangements would be made for the arrangements would be made for the arrangement for cut at Karach as soon as notsible and will override all other prout book up. It is gard to the special accompany of ends and make contracted a misched for the arrangement for the super contracted a misched for the special accompany. It hope you are keeping good health.

The super amassine cost \$6,000 and was "cavern green." A convertee B.23 Beechards was to cost more than the encass out alog so Juntar accorded on a Vickers Arms rong instead, the price of which was not untrastinable. "31

Junah ordered Laquat to move his cabinet secretariat to Lahore in September and joined him there the following month as relicious at the India deteriorated to the point of virtual "war "** Armed "convoys" of Muslim refugees envire line a could pass through month San thinks only with spicial instructions from Net 1 and office 1 and 1 a

face ** But the more disturbing part of Ismay's report to his chief was that "Jamah was ful of wrath against Congress saying that he could never understand those wires hatterly and wis now beginning to feel that were was no alternative but to light it out."

The Mushin nawah of J. aagadh, a small princes, state on the coast of kathiawar accorded to Pakists i that Sectionare though his domain was surrounded by India and he wast majorit of a state a application was strong to the application and a short discussion of the application and a short discussion of the application and a short discussion and short with the energoising fathia of Pakistana are prince in rester, Zufi Blutto, who druted the documents of accession and personally document of juniah Nebru and Fill wast outraged when to the fathiated of unagadhs "treacher" and drine of martial avasion on the New older of ving Misl on carters like the Bluttos to say from Versional and to keep the fathiates to say they are the fathiates to say they are the fathiates to say the first treacher and the way day of the land with their treacher and the way day of the land with their treacher and the way day of the land with their treacher and the way day of the land with their treacher and the way day of the land with their treacher and the way day of the land with their treacher and the way day of the land with their treacher and the way day of the land with their treacher and the way day of the land with their treacher and the way day of the land with their treacher and the way day of the land was the contraction.

Before the end of 5 pterrier | much prests directly to 1 s t manon wealth colleagues for help in lightstay a trace disputes wet its cusest neighbor 11, flood of let gees continued to delige in Pulipab, and each now arrival languages blue legistless, tales of suged and field the haired if Mist ms the a phoint the Northwest also by right to excitate for reverge count the models, ago to a passions with name stime I talk pressures for retal aton, and drowing cardion, can becam of little for See Applicable to ber per nament am executary of Componwealt, Relations Office visited Karachi at this time, and London became more conscious of the organics of Pakis and plight and the potential immence of Indo-Pak war. Laptas flew to Debr and remained for sexual lights as Mour patient miest in the envertiment house porte tousiv warring lists, before to flew Lack to Labore "Let India go head and compit at act of war and see what has new "to Ismay understood I agent's thinky evid threat as upsarcuil asped at Kashara Monothas et a hief-of-staff returned to London in early October a 40 ng ip every 2 again with J. nah in Karachi, on October ? Candle's seconts eigh houghday.

the process nating maharing of kashour Sir Hari Singh, righed of ridstractors in a viril landstan that permitted petro successes and other vital needs of that northermous state of South Asia to continue flowing over the Pakistan roads that served as its major highways to the world. Hari Singh knew that time was running out. Muslim peasants in Kashmir's mit to passe of a continue of a road to read the south landstant of the result is continued in and the south landstant help their co-religioids fight against the indurant's forces sent to prodocus the result. By inde-Detoless Pakistan stopped all ship sents of vial

at pplies to Kashmar New Della then "decided to step into the breach and try to send such things as salt, kerosene and sugar" to "alockaded" Srina gar at

On October 23, Brush trucks and jeeps of the Pakistan arms toaded with some 5 000 armed Indian Africe Waziri and Mahsad imbesmess of the North-West Frontie, crossed the Kasanar borger and headed cast along the Mira ffarahad Baranula road hat ed to broader treat. That in vas in of Kashin r from laks at would intig be called by Pakista a purely "volun eer" action man ortiken spon meousl " by trate it was rushing it the aid o appressed Mislar prothers. But the runks, petrol, and drivers were made standard tribal economical and B tish officers as well as Powstam offic als all aims, the airthern bakes, much they traversed knew and supposed even at they did not a hally organize or and side that vicient fictions, one from by which Paristin seems to have his and a rigger as integra into it is it after the action, whose acres to rante gave to k" atral from some separts of the rail restouring and size-M zaffar had a ached how Debto within a conthe light at October 21 and the ex must us. Parestan envisional quarters. The all of or red & w Well a sister for a on amound the "tella viciniers" Lac "onterior Kashmer Their advance grant ona 35 to 40 miles from Se pagar 1 Mor athatter so choses at concernor a charged the Indian Determination Compilter that Site of mirrorg and tack agrees to assess the all the arms and average they encled the for pass he indicate resputch to Some gar V P A mor was sen throughout H tale as heights to see if he could convince Harl Shigh to ago an accession agreement at this point. Memor returned early Sunday morning, October 26, to report to Mount! att Near, and here that the mahara a had gone haprees completely and could "come to no decision." His state's prime minister, M. C. Mahajan later chief istice if India however proved receptive to Menons; sion and returned with him to New Delhi, where he met with Nehru and Pero.

"I requested immediate military aid on any terms. Michajan resulturging Nehru to "Clive us the military force we need. Take the necession and give whater a waver you dear to the pepulate for a large growth are some room of the second of the second of the labore and the terms with Mr. Janach " we want reported that a to the second of any at the restor of the labore and the second of any at the restor of the labore and the second of the labore and the restor of the labore and "any at the restor of the labore and the restor of the labore and "any the restor of the labore and the labore and the restor of the labore and the labore an

The next morning the defence council met and decided to artift the First Sikh Battakon from N. a Decided Senaga. To the early accuracy the morning of the 27th," Mahajan wrote, "I could hear the noise of the planes flying over Sardar Balder Singham wrote, where Mahajan spent the largest and carrying the military personnel to Semagar At about 9 a.m. I got a message from ... Srinagar that troops had landed there and had gone into action. On receipt of this message, I flew to Jammu with Mr V P. Menon, ... Mr. Menon and myself met His Highman [Hart Singh had driven down from Strong in the largest spent to be were signed which Mr. Menon took back to New Delhi. ... I stayed at Jammu. This was a narrow share."

Mahajans and impropil all assenue or list that a portant sequence of events shart or the Espainance of the norsh reports pallored by V. P. Menon and afters loss to Velpa and high aid assembled with the Loy remment of India at the time Menon insists that Kashmir's "instrument of accession was significant distributed by a Den afore in Indian gops were flower after a tion in Nation . Annually epoils he car so The actual sequence is of more than seat on interest sill find a seater to Kashing was, or ugal terms based on have a scenared the construction nent of access in a net o lating any tongs life the Val. Most burger, at course tradered age to task at he a too sould be trappe ware of be considerable," and if that occurred then two Commonwealth armies, each transed old led to Britis communities as officers would have and or to first three master a few one am my on de held it by the It works been been so grounders so a terly of a able a conclusion to his last Clarkles in India."30 that Mountbatten had to move heaven and earth to a one so trage a denote next. He had to feet so maled over a homored trips fortheres in Las well as in man, at Dellies as policy the less han a do s softer and policy light some Sab regimen coside hose sales, I dup and kept or I to take off refere days on October 2" A that I a sed was the signed at ession letters would be right reported to bis could fally the post of and or goth, tisk disalarmed clash with Pakistan forces to the minimum. I shall relate a little further on not be so may a that his accessed was accepted "in The crisis of lation Mounthatten faced during that last terrible week in October obviously did not permit the luxury of holding a pleboscite or referendam. The tribus - 1a p --- 1 --- 1 --- 1 g la loca decentral a verta the will of the people boths acceptanced first," poter to 10 ng thore guard-

an troops over the Hima ayan wall that separated Delh, from Spinagar, By the same token, her should time permit the sidee sion of an autocratic maharato who had gone to pieces" fied Stinagar and ahandoned his own subjects to a fate worse than death, to stand in the way of their salvation?

"Even after this decision had been reached Land Mounthatten and the three B as Chars of Staff of the Indian Arms Nays and Air For c pointed out the risks involved in the operation," V. P. Menon reported "But Nehri asserted that the advantement we to sending troops would be to allow a massacre in Srinagar, which would be followed by a major commenal heroca is in India. Moreover, the British residents in Studger would certainly be printed at the raders since aeither the Pakistan Commander-in-Chief nor the Supreme Commander was in a position to saleguara the raises "a. Wha case could have Maunthalthy possibly have lane to the face of such dire warnings, threats, and advice? To besitate for even an hour might have proved fatal to so precarious an operation,

On October 27 as soon as Government's ieral pariate called at India's airlif o Seriaga, lic in red Ls, acting. British con sander instinct Correll Messervs was a trave. General Sir Douglas Graces to me i two origades of he als move ito Kash rar on their Bawalpindi aid and her from Sizikot. The Sizikot army was to march to Jammu, take to bity die nicke the Mar it is a prisoner. The Risk a trich entrop was book vaner to be agar and cost reight to to Such strategic action could be secured Kas a in fir Lakistan while saving Survivar from trivial a tark s Genera Graces reflect approver to co, those ages from his governofnor general informing It has that the was not propored to issue in tentions which yould nevitably end to armen conflict between the time Dom mons and he withdrawa! I B tish Officers without the approval if the Supreme Commander ' [Field Marshal Auchtnieck].42

Having just flown in from Kurachi, Jimnah was in Lahore at this time and slaved with Mucle who was 'most aggressive and a misive to all a over the phone, wanting to know "Why the hell Gracey was not our your out Mr. Jinnah's orders. What had it got to do with the Supreme (on mander? What did it matter if the British Officers were withdrawn? Could he not send the troops on without British Officers? Mr. Jinnah jusisted on the orders being asseed at once? Cracey aboves A calle at the new dithat he thought "Mudie had been drinking," and Mountbutten added a his report of this unpleasant incident to the King, that Sir Francis and apparently "lived up to his reputation," Ceneral Graces, informed bond Marker A rock from had feld by the Bost at the other That had not been been and and and er ad some Shand Down' arder "14 Anchitalrek world his chiefs of staff a

London on October 28. A "stand down" order meant the automatic withdrawal of all British officers from a donnmor army

The "Auk" flew into Lahore from De.h. this fateful morning of October 28 and was met at the a sport by cracey, who stated that the orders Gracey had not obeyed were nunetherss seved to Pasistan tipe, is "to seize Baramula and hipagar also Panihal Pass and to send troops into Mirpiir disalet of January 765. The same a commander and General Graces, went to confront Jonah opmed stell to expige the "chial on a wa city British officers very clearly." A whileless reported to London. Concess also compliasized and tary weakness of liak star will ellipse atom on readulance coursemences of military position of what now is emitter or hiday times to corsequence of kaylanurs sudden access or " His a spreach to Junah, Mounthacten reported of Authorities rucia confror ation r Labore was based on he tact that Ind as acceptance of he acless on of Kashmir was ast as legally proper aid report is take as acceptance of Junio gadh's accession, that I idia had a perfect right to send, roops to the St. L. in response to the Mac cocales regies, and on the extreme accioness of the caketa i Aar vegred standed in department of boot Bank Universe. 40 I read withdrew orders. Ascentances was alse to report at the end of his longest day in India's service.

Mountbatten and Ismas flew to Lahore without Nehru on November 1 191" and each with Language was open suck with an idear test proming in his bedroom.

He was sitting up with a rug round his knees looking very ill I began by giving Luquat a copy of a statement which had been agned by the three India Commanderson-Cuef dispel the engression in the minds of the Pay ston (sovernment that India had planned the sending of militim assistance to Kosha r hofore the tribal invasion began. ... I then went on to explain . . the whole position of Junagadh , and of Kashmir, as I saw it. I used the same arguments as I later expanded to Junah whom I saw in the afternoon. The burden of Liaquat's reply was that the Maharaph had . . brought about a serious atuation by allowing his Bin lus and a partie lar his State forges, to massacre Muslens porticularly in, and across the border of, Jammu . . . Liaquat appear dit is very lepresser and almost disprepared to make any further effort to avoid war, Ismay and I did our best to cheer him up . . he . . . bade us a very friendly an revoir 47

Mounthatten and Immy went off directly to lench with Jonath, and after finishing their food, accompanied the Quaid 3-Azian to his ratio

and had 3% hours of the most ardnous and concentrated conversation, of which Kashmir formed the main thems. . . . I handed to Januah a further copy of the Chiefs of Staff statement of events . . . he expressed surprise at the remarkable speed at which we had been able to organize sending troops into the Smagar plain . . . Jinnotes principle compliant was that the Government of India had falled to give timely information to the Government of Pakistan about the action they proposed to take in Kashmir I pointed out, in roply, that Nebru had telegraphed to Liaquat Ali Khan on the 20th, unmodiately the decision to send in troops had been taken. Ismay agreed that the Coveriment of Pakistar should have had the earliest possible notification. . . . To the best of his recollection, Nebru had told an as he 28th that he has kept Linguit As Khan in touch with what was happening. . If this had not been done, the owers that must have noted due to the pressure of events, and not because the Government of India had enything to hide.

Honer concer, prins tales and wild that the terminant had arrived after se tomps is a nider and that add not contain any targe of That here for consequences a the ween the two characters in this matter, it merely informed him of the accession and the landing of troops. Continuing, he said that the accession was not a bone fide one since it rested on "fraud and violence" and would never be accepted by Pakistan. I asked him to explain why he used the term "fraud," since the Mahara ah was fully cattled in accordance with Pakistan's own official statement about Junagadh . . . to make such accession. It was therefore perfectly legal, and shall, from head that this accession was the end of a long intrigue and that it had been brought about by some I countered this by saving that I extends agreed that the an essent had been brought about by violence. I knew the Maharajah was most anxious to remain independent, and nothing but the terror of violence could have made him accede to either Dominion: . . the violence had come from tribes for whom Pakistan was responsible. . . . Jinnah repeatedly made it clear that in ass opinion - was India why was contacted this vice of the sending her troops into Sripagar, I countered as often with the above argument thereby greatly enraging Jonah & or appared Genseness.48

Jinnah told Mountbatten and Ismay that he had "lost interest in what the world thought of him since the British Commonwealth had let him down when he asked them to come to the rescue of Pukistan." "At the end Joseph became extremely possin size and said it was quite clear that the Domoi for of India was not to torotte and choice the Domoinem of Fakistan."

birth and that if they continued with their oppression there would be nothing for it be to face the const increas. In was not afraid, for the situation was already so bad that there was hitle that could happen to make it worse. Issuay tried to cheer him up out of his depression but I fear was not very successful. . . . We parted on good terms "60"

A mood a loud resignation and talk up shrot and much broughout the rest of that last nitt rivear of his hopes of breaching in cool, he little air of Smagar fack I with each passing in of prototiged fighting as more and stronger Indian torces soul florgo and nick fit offices and rigular Pak visit lears' who managed without British support to told a nar rast if Max tharabad him would never read to an enveted tale. Dark for a both uside and out of pacistan were after ner seek is a sn iff on this own teel is earn to choke his product offspring this of week corner on the eve of his issiving Karnets on a part of at my or Justichs de bad been ande by Two men out at nave has a refices mass d and wenting moon and cross of rights, who re- I was at d at the government noise of pped to solvers, are wounded or police afficer before to vice of he prophened off a vivia set "he were this hardware? Or were they afferent still note this car seems or or like don Micros who consider that he hadron you While he had no sed by bleed by user and Muhie convert and the spreaks and the Point his with whose and water I mak longer my longer through easen aght racked his body with coughing and dislouged more blood note his scarred and breed burgs

"That he dota can never be attained by a nation without suffering and socialize has been supposed on the the recent trage happenings in this with out cent. Jurish fold a mass rath of his compatitots from the authors of Labore's University stadium on October 30.

We are an the modat of unparalleled difficulties and untold sufferings, we have been through dark days of apprehension and angody. The asstematic massacre of defenceless and minocent people puts to shame even the most betrious attrictites committed by the worst syrants known to history. We have been the victims of a dready and we planned conspiracy executed with utter discegard of the form of a premiudes of honesty chicality and honour. We though Providence for giving us courage and faith to fight these forces of evil. . . Do not be afraid of death. Our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should see at bravely to save the bonour of Pakestan and Islam. Three is no better subvation that he is at all the formation of the control of the same than the formation of the same than the same t

"It was noths speed that I first heard him speak of death." Fahma recalled. "The sufferings of the refugees affected him deep and he went to ned again, excausted and tevens." But files kept pouring in mosters and secretaries came to seek his instructions, so peace and rost were impossible "he

23

Ziarat (1948)

The "all India" Mustine Langue council act for the last track Kare I of December 14-18, 1947. Some 300 members, 180 from India assert sled for coupital of Pakistan and toted and track plasma, members a lage will not act that has been so extrements a racex plasma, members to be a pitting at into codepondent and separate has to to the most separate based to the most separate has to the first such left be such bed to preside a life Situation of the sact works to addressed the more Longheb and his sport was here we could rau Pakis and such and such aspects to sach with the solution of the more Longheb and his sport was the result of the track of the result of the solution of the sact work of established Pakistan. Quanti Azar to define a The Missing were a reches of Pakistan, not for the Langue and or any of our coloragues at for the masses.

Not everyone was satisfied however. Maulana Jamal M an angri virous that "Pakistan could hardly take pride in caching road in M similated." He found many im-Islamic things in the State from top to lootions. . . The behaviour of the Minister is not like that of Mushims. The poor cannot enter the houses of the Ministers, the needy and the lowly send see that Oral the courtest can enter these who powers angring lungulows can enter. The name of Islam has been disgraced enough." "We are only a four-month-old child," Jinnah responded, feeling not much stronger himself. "You know somebody would like to overthrow us. I know you would say we have not done such and such a thing, but we are only four months old."

In addition to resolving to divide Redf and our ing Languat Ab Khanconvenor" of the Pakistan Modun Long of the Conson placed on record its deep sense of sorrow and its feelings of horror at the widespread acts of argin and violence and hathers, which have token place resulting in the less of hundreds of thousands of innocent lives, colossa desiraction of property what matrices against women and mass migration of populations, whereby millions of human beings have been appropriate from their hearths and homes and reduced to riter desire too.

The Council also views with grave concern the rising tide of communal antagonism against the Muslim minority in the Indian Union where, in spite of the repeated declarations by the Congress that minorities will be dealt with justly and fairly . . . Muslim life and property or it in a to be procure:

Liaquat flew to Delhi for a meeting of the Joint Defence Council on December 32 at the task Schr banded has better charging that the ribe ran is" of Kaslanr " we have transit through lakistan and ar still tes the iso start of treet bak that meet dive have of able paperts that the egulers got to the mis fone at lary essent Pakistan "The government of India demanded an end to all such ad access, supplies and training. Liaquat promised to reply; and on Deer a by 3, by a Neural Sector constitute afficial expose from Passa als ladia submitted its formal complaint to the UN Security Council, as a -----erged to More that can all and a charter than the above one agree out by a face which were recorded the second copy, a "call your "wishes to get ar and no e tely to all assistance it was providing formation to be a morning of kas more a State which has a colto the Dominion of India and is part of India," or "the Covernment . India na be compelled self-brow to only Pakistan critical a order to take military action against the invaders."

Pakistan replied to India's complaint on January 15, 1948, and in sound logalitation. Prime Minister Library A. Khan cross con the security for the foreign and an assistance to the so-called invoders of co-positive and act of aggressian against Lida." The Fixed security council, and an longer document called "Particulars of Pakistan's Case" served to place number of proader issues and security council, and an longer document called "Particulars of Pakistan's Case" served to place number of proader issues and security council, and make the place of the place

d News caragines of the billet and the Million population of base Pumpin. Dellit, Agrico a care taken by the con-Musari Bulers people office and a new animal people of the con-Musari Bulers.

forces of the States concerned and the Union of India , still in progress . . large numbers of Muslium-tunning into hundreds of thousands—bave been rutblessly massacred vasth, larger numbers maimed, wounded and injured and over five million . . . driven from their homes. . Brotal and unmentionable crimes have been commuted against women and children. Property worth thousands of millions of rupees has been destroyed.

Concluding its cross-complaint. Pakistan asked the security coincil to call point in the desist from acts of aggression against Pukistan" and to appoint a contrassion or countissions of the LN is awartigate all of its charges" and to an arguing the location of bighting in 1 is not of landing the Assistance and a sewhere in the second contract. A bill of "particulars affect documental and a sewhere in the second charges.

Junan had no steength of the New York for a Scholar of Artha of Artha of hister is but for an instead of Moharm of Artha Kin performed by funds of Palestans adsocate below the centre of his was indiconstant adulted and of the connect of presenting his same of fating find as charges. The security here is no securities and the securities of the securitie

The first World War of 1914-18 was longht to end war," Jinnah rea ed on Januari 23 1946 wanching the LMLS Indoor "Sword" Justans first modern descriper.

This led to the birth of the League of Nations and the dea of collective security, but the League of Nations proved only a proughope. . . The destruction caused by the first world war pales into insignificance so compared to the devestation and havor resulting from the last world war and now with the discovery of the Atom Bomb, one shudders to think of the pattern of future wars. . . . Pakistan must be prepared for all eventualities and dangers. The world and the defencees in this imperfect world, must aggression from others. . . Pakistan is still in its infancy and so is its Navy

But this infant means to grow up and God willing will grow up much sooner than many people think. You will have to make up for the small ness of your size by your courage and selfiess devotion to duty for it is not life that matters but the courage fortitude and determination you bring to it?

A few days enrice, Mahatum Cattidu won the aut of his facts into-death, permading India's calined to jusy its debt of 55 crosss at rupees to

Pakistan helping to put an end to the staughter and looting of Mashins in and around Della, which has become so tragic a scandal. Angry Stahs and militant Hardest marched found flows. House with black flags sho and "Let Gaudh, the calling tup "Mohammad Gandhu" state he so often advocated Pakistan's cause at prayer meetings and read from the Quran And on January 20, a bomb exploded in Burla House compound, but Gandhi had already finished his purper meeting.

To do a later his assessin did not russ. At lus last prayer meeting on londar, 39, Candhi said.

It a man was in distress the key to his happiness lay a labour God did not create man to eat, drak and make merry. . . . Millionaires who are exhout wors were par eres Even they should as he did swent of their brown as and he go without foor. The only permissible exception was the disabled. . . Candbiji than spoke about peasants If he had his say, our Governor-General and our Premier would be drawn from the kisons [peasants]. . . As real producers of wealth the same comb the missers while we have a slaved they

. It was true, we were all labourers. In honest labour lay our salvation and the satisfaction of all vital needs."

The next even hat before in could reach his pracer platform Mahatina Gardh was shot to death by a hard-crazed Hindu brahman maned Natheran Caulte.

"He was one of the greatest mea produces, by the Hindu community wrote I also not be seened to not not less upone t must have seened to him that an orthodox Hindu abould have killed his most transgert opportunit selevary, he Make ma at "A yent of Faksatar and a "Muslim over Norber Boy, lan, who is resident of Schrouders Raining Group in New York, met with Jinbah in Karachi just a few days to Cardi as assessmention and reported that "funnah spoke of Cardi much more generous terms than he have fit to use in his message, below edging ... how great was the loss for the Mostems, Jinnah addithat ..., the real trouble was with the extremist groups, and he had a taxoniably upper and by the India . Cover ments firm have me at to follow ag on Gandh, a assass nation." According to the hour songer Seva Songh and Hindu Mahasabha, putting many of their leads made man a data preventive de to top age of

Mir Laik Ali now became premier of Hyderabad, and India's meet was most unserfied by news of the means Whereve loan to Uniform Seconds of that I am of course Pakistan remanded solvent, and to a mean of the latest mean of the latest means of the l

Chulam Mohammed on February 28. Defence expenditure was projected to be no less than £2" 8 . Then gut of the total as analog expenditure of on's £39.4 nation. Revenues were so meager moreover that a defice of 2 % I million was expected. " Salarly the generation of I have a located over 50 percent of its total budget to arms and projected a deficit of some £20 million. Palostar did its vest to encourage apports from the sterling bloc and the United Stars, but because of its in namal industrial development, the continuous after of retrigers, and poor a greathing output p 1948 revenues ted below autospated totals with its riefle to sooring higher. Ispaham appealed ages is on US support private as well as the c General Motors are oferested in distalling plans - Phassain," Anhassa dor Ispalian reported to his great out or that March, wit "t mentering war clouds" over kashma kept holding their back." The World Back and Export Bank were iss wormed and it aferms shall no all bly but required proper so very and epocy by first his converted dear. It we had not some negatively looken down to be invaried and of expendit in and income before doing out any joans. Pakistan was as ver capprepared to present such detailed passesuls

Juniah hanser had he were left to work on steen matters. He course makes concern from him is letters, us note An shi Paper Frience from Bombas vis teel him of Kinachn at this toe and fraund him of right a lass garden at the gives more he is Aher Juniah finall work up as whispered I am so fixed Juniah stories. At accept, we de had not or juyon by greatest sort but had outlived by foremost rival. It was high time for him to real, won it to out?

Note the less his government as sted that he the to Dicess that Marca to address the new serve of Polistan's population from their new "group" soil He had not even gone to the hast or set foot in Dacea, the second capital of his entire Great he derithather was a real answered the call of his entire that addressed a crowd estimated to be over 300,000 in Dacea's mandan on March 21. 948 That was his last major public address control. The left ered it on high the spoke of a Bengal arranguage audience and informed them "in the clearest language" that "the Stat Language, of Paisstan's going to be RDL are no their burguage, "as This was of course for most volving divisive saile in Polistania profiles.

Any one who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Withou one Sate I amage no Nation can return ted up solicay to the rane forests— I soke the I amage to the commiss. Therefore, so far as the State Language is concerned, Pakistan's language shall be URDU. . . I tell you once again, do not fall no the trap of those who are the concinion of Pakistan. Unfortunately you have

fifth-columnists and I am sorry to say they are Mushims—who are financed by habsiders—you must have pattened With our help and with your support we will make Parastan a ringht State.

No amount of trouble, no amount of hard work or sacrifice is too much or to be sharked. . I wish you God speed.

He led not live to return however or to see East Pas stan metamorphosed through file into the separate amon on Ban, adesh where Bengali wild become and remain the sole official language.

The Fronker grew rance resilve as well. Pathans contained to kine about a state of their har. Pash amount and over the Ballick's kept control and about a constendad stan. So in April 1 or he based to be Peshawar where he has been act because College and to art force causes at Rampur and to the man discrete at the given next because the land and then at an open or necessary at Peshawar where the was derinched to the lone for the lone and the resemble. The man them at the next of had consider a chosen to be seen the man at the next of had consider a chosen to be seen the man at the next of had consider a chosen to be seen the man at the next of had considered and only when I forced a doctor on him did we learn that he had bronchits. The inflormation of the man are then was about the considered and the at the construction of the next of the interval of the considered and the at the considered and the seed of the considered and only when I forced a doctor on him did we learn that he had bronchits had all the at the construction of the seed of the considered and the seed of the considered and the seed of the seed of the considered of the seed of

Janual's it from with his closest colleagues deteriorates, rapic. In the And months of his de As he grew weaks and as more concours a he impractive of death he was less patient with selficiency and might were one easy angered by the isral excises for tot getting and, a done Bet are rung, he naturally wanted to see sign front progress in its stregging of any land by mid by oil at a "private date execute back at he name of Basawal nars I case. I mar saled I have memore ") laneagor conversal in with M. A. Rh. her the their clief remain of Sec. Belabous between the governor general and his prime make you hardly have been less than strained perhaps in that era of unrelieved tional carazaty and stress financial storigancy and vicinit war. I support reportedly wrote Jinnah in January and offered to "resign" as prime m ister after learning from his begum of Jinnah's angrily and openly expressed dissatisfaction with his work tables, road and the and cosguss of the way the conduct Mirror Change of the bound Punjab. "was uninterested in the fate of the refugees." He called Monday and Conserve Me Share and Me Share also be selected as his right arm in whomng the Pitnan for the League, that The was melent a

a Prime Munister which "Madic reported was only too true He Junahi therefore normated Mary Murriar Daulians" to take control of the Punjab in usta but Daustana octiond protesting that he had complete confidence in Maridot. ... I [Mudie] linew and he [Dauliana] knew that it is did become Frime Minister Manalit wind its about out in throat. Jimah was very angry and the moeting was adjourated. Jimah ... rounded on me. ... "Your policy is weak You've lost your nerve. I asked what his orders for me were He said "None." I then asked what his advice to me would be as a friend life repaired Was well in his offers in the mass I am going to do." ... It was clear ... that Jimah was far from well indeed he had to life down immediately after our meeting."

In June, Jimah and Fatima flow to Quotta, where he could breathe the could breath of the day and some an armore. Within a few days of all armore lie was all a sleep and convert respect for so relicional to the first pate in in average a mod relaxed "On June all and actions to decrease of Questian State (Calego reflexing restains his non-country and other than alout the growing strain in his retuinous wiff the colour and other could other could other country.

You, along with other Forces of Pakistan, are the oustodians of the bit property and honor of the model of Pakistan. The December of the most stal of all Pakistan Strenges and correspondingly a view heaty responded at and quilen lets a voice shoulders.... I want you to remember and if you have time enough you should study the Covernment of the Land of a half the deal and attend for its in Pakistan, which is not present Covernment. Punastan, whe is the Covernment and therefore any measure and a transfer of the Covernment and therefore any one has the covernment and therefore any one has the Executive Head.*

The next day he told the Quetta municipality, which presented him a th a handsome I — of F ma passe, that "next a Rabardeathin was spared be traged which the traged which the traged which the property and the establishment of Passians...... Quetta may be as great a civil station as a cantoniment. For a large part of Western Pakastan it will be the natural summer resort.....

It is a few to find the curse of provincialism to doing sway over any section of Pakastanis Pakastan must be rid of this evil. It is a refic of the old administration... British control.... We are now all Passianis—not Bahrdiar Pathans Studlus, Bergalis, Punjahis and so on ... and we should be proud to be known as Passianity and nothing else."

Fatura tried to "talk lian out of" agreeing to fly back to Karachi to

speak at the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakstan on July 1.948, but Jinnah usus ed on going. The flight so exhausted him the, he could hardly get out of bed" to deliver the speech that was written for him. As Fatima noted. Those who saw and heard him must have realised that he was not in good health, his voice was scereely audible and to paused and coughed his way through his speech. When we returned home he collapsed into bed with his shoes on. *** He had earlier accepted an invitation from the Canadian commissioner of trade to attend a reception that even ng to canadian the my differ anniversary of the donumenthal was to be the last social function linnah would ever attend.

On July 6, Jinnah and his sister flew back to Quetta, but he continued to run "a slight fever," so the doctors advised moving him to even our accelled an a mosphere. Zurat a const flavorable but state a forty in he and soveral consend a residence himzolow. So It is the British Tha hill station was perched, we are eagle at the top of it to there is not was I make any effect on the search of configuration for save his dving large. A line of the free and beas of those is additionally or the line. "Fat one recurred noting how her brother whose countries or with one wind the residence of the property of the line with the wind the property of the line of the property of the line with the wind the property of the line of the property of the property of the property of the line of the property of the pr

tage to ant Colonel. Lab Book's rof the Indian Medical Service was sitting out on this Inwa" in Labore after dinner on July 31, when Michael has Au, the service are gener 12. It government of Pakestan pheno 12 or Kuracht ordering him to fly "immediately" to Quetto. Dr. Bakhsh was not at the airport there on Friday afternoon by Major General M. A. Khan and Colonel K. Jilam, who drove with him in the governor-general's car to Zancet "Nonody agow what I'm was safter og four," recalled Bakl sh. Al. I could gather was tot be abbrored rejections and patent nedic ness and preferred to be addressed as 'Sir' and not as Your Excellency." "*

had no brough in a to be great leader's hadroom the next morning

I found the Quard-t-Azam by ng in bed facing the door. He booked shockingly thin and weak and had an ashen grey complexion . . . , as appearance that norming frightened are the must have a case what was in no mine for as discretically afterface we solve ago in to a chair and enquiring if I had a pleasant journey. I sat down and asked for it do to fed account of his miscrib and gives one of the set. . . "There is nothing much wrong with me," he told me, "except that I have got stomach trouble and exhaustion due to overwork and worry. For forty years I have worked for 14 hours in day, never known gives the same well as a return face to a set of the set o

ment and rest in bod. I generally recovered within a week or so. For the last year or two, however they have increased both in frequency and severity and are much more exhausting." While I was listening to him I found him losing breath after every sentence and sometimes pausing in the middle. His mouth was dry and he moistened his lips many times while talking. The voice lacked tone and was . . . almost inaudible. He had a couple of fits of coughing , . which left him exhausted. . . . After a short pause during which he closed his eyes and looked more dead than alive, he continued, "About three weeks ago I caught a chill and developed fever and a cough for which the Civil Surgeon of Quet a presented princible lozenges. I have been tuking these since invital 1 - better the lover is less, but I feel very weak. I don't think there is anything organically wrong with me . . If my stomach can be put right I will recover snow Mam years ago, had a athe thad stomach ito me for which I consulted two or three London specialists, but they failed to diagnose ris liness and one of them were its ad operation I didn't submit to the operations and on the advice of another Lon-

I didn't submit to the operations and on the odvice of another London doctor went to Germany and consulted a famous doctor. He told me that I had no organic trouble and only needed rest and a regulation of diet. I stayed in his climic for a few weeks and recovered completes in 1994 I was conjugate to the had ductors to be suffering from heart disease, but a heart specialist in Germany assured me that my heart was perfectly normal."

The doctor asked the governor general to remove as silk pyrama up so that he could listen to his heart, "I observed with dutress that he was total thinner than he apprared with clothes or and could no make out how he had managed to sur ve and work as soon a advanced mage of emaciation. . . , I had some equally severe cases among the prisoners of war at Singapore. . . . The physical examination . . dimmed my hopes, bhough I did not revea ups tears to the patient. I expressed a desire to have he a ravestig ated for her before Lee. It igive it is final and one os so but Fiftee hat he root mass of the bout lead peared it me to be hing casense and not his stomach. The Quaid-i Azam atill believed, however that his privary from a vas the stomach, and arged me to pay more attention to it Bakhsh did not ignore his nationt's concern and prescribed a Thigh calorie . . . low residue diet " Fatima "appeared to doubt" the "advantage" of inflicting such a diet on her brother but said nothing, and for a day or two Jinnah are ned to eat better, for the wise doctor also preet . La let by a Co

Bukhili did the best, in fact, that any medical pro-titioner could have done He "rang op" the civil success from Questa, who drave up to Ziara next morning with his clinical pathnogest and brought along his micro-scope and reagents to test a read s brood sputino and do the usual laboration work. Their lab "fine-rigs conformed the colonel's suspicions." With so important a patient however, utilier corriboration was considered essential before subsequently hope to the fata' disease that was consuming as lungs. So bak ish ward his own hospita in Laboration and ordered three of as best specialists to fit to Zurrati telling one of their to original to the state among Their he area karacti to special read-cours. Within the table x ray along Their he area karacti to special read-cours. Within the fable x ray along Their he area and account within it is followed a discount of the state and a second or discount of the state and a second or discount of the state of the state

While I was telling him the grave news I watched him intently He . remained quite caim and all he said after I had flushed was, "Have you told Muss Jimahi?" I replied, "Yes, Sie . . I had to toke hir vio confluent." The Q and Azara interrupted as and said, "No, you shouldn't have done it. After all she is a woman." I expressed regret for the pain caused to his sister . . . The Quaid-Azam stened patiently and in the end said, "It doesn't matter, what is done is done. Now tell me all about it. How long have I had this Jiseast." Unit are the histories of my recreating in? How one will be treate at last? I should be to know exerciting and violings not hesitate to tell me the whole tristh." . . I replied that I . . . felt confident that with the aid of the latest drugs there should be a fair chance of a considerable improvement."

Ispania, flow in from New York that were and offered to arrange for any line see, and from Americal that might be needed which be seen ready to Fring, in a "special plane" of Dr. Barkish thought did not be nature of the illness which occurs. I could not reveal Bukhsa nated, "exang Janabs friend to see him along this even. "After his interview he came downstans visibly moved. I beped he had not betrailed has analyty before far patient in the natural control of the property of the patient of the pa

La sa cres net bar east have seen what anyone allowed close coungit to look could have seen the governor general was dying. The

Quand-s Azam would soon to be so more, and the border of leading Pakistan would fall upon his shoulders, his moer, his life, Fatima, who had never real. Used other Lagrar or his begut - jur aps she brained them both for helping , are Janal, back to line is from his Hampstead retreat where the and her have I brother might have used their uses out in peace and uset contentment subseque at reported that after Laquat left, Jimah told her with trembling voice, "Do you know why he has come? He wants to a low how serious my liness is how for a low ll of "88 It was don these to a vert hardly as opprobrous as Patima considered it. under the circumstances. There was, after all, still a nation to be runmillions of displaced persons to be few and circu for in undeclared was is Karte or a be ton, I is post feting to be drifted less in Beingaiss, Pathans Balt, we Pumphis and Sindis so those to be a tisfied. To I iaqual a laplaced Nav. iz ida from the Unted Provinces and Ox ord, A must have seemed odd to be there in Zarrat, still a mere "courtler" to that superious regal haple though as was not so fifty three. The price turnis to would have bill more than three years after Jonah hed or on a lived assassm's to Bet claimed his life in sud-Detaber 1951, or a awal ands. Dr. Bakhsh remarked of Laggrat

Downsture in the drawing round I met the Prove Mir stor. He are foundy enquired about the Quald-t-Azam, complimented me or having won the first round a set of the polarity confidence and expressed the hop that would contribute the steerows. It used urged me to probe into the root cause of the peristent disease. It assured from the drosp, etc. Draso Azams set mis condition to the least not hope that if he responded to the latest medicines which had been sent to from Karach he right we overcome the trouble and that the cost hope the fairne was the patients strong power of resistance. I was moved by the Prline Minister's deep concern for the bealth of his Chief and old commade.

Strepton where arrived and was administered but "mirace drug that was it could not in exist the impossible. For did the Id pray is of Jinaha nathen voiced from every new one of Pak standard elses neve throughout the Muslim world on August 7, suffice to turn the Inextrable tide of the Indiana world on August 7, suffice to turn the Inextrable tide of the Muslim world on August 7, suffice to turn the Inextrable tide of the North Formation of the feet set in, and the medical staff surrounding the Quard decided it would be best to remove him to a lower altitude. Zurats rerofied atmosphere appeared to be supposing too great a strain on his failing heart and him to be the total of the surrounding the Quard to the staff to the surrounding too great a strain on his failing heart and him to be the surrounding too great a strain on his failing heart and him to be surrounded to be supposing too great a strain on his failing heart and him to be surrounded to be surrounded to be supposed to be surrounded to be supposed to be surrounded to be

him down to Quetta. "This is impossible" the governor-general repited. The carliest would be the Lota." They teared that cute might be too late enlisting Fahma's support in pressing him till at last he agreed.

Jinnah's final journey home began on Angust 13 at 3:30 g.m. He insisted on wearing "o brand new star at that to match and a handker chief in his varity pocket." Fatima recalieu. I he pied him put on his polished pump shous Hr was brought dow on a stretcher and was placed in a sena ced ring position in he hack of the big Hamber car in which we are finit to Queeta. "Is Though many incautions had been taken to keep the move "op some cheeping roweds him the move "op some cheeping roweds here the mad along their winding descent. The Humber had exact cars and a prep front and rear so it was life a commy with the governor general's barasanac nhr flags flying as they be imped over the ock. Exacticed road the had rear hardes to mis tant or hipped over the ock. Exacticed road the had rear hardes to it is a the post the flesh the see which had policied about a relegious flying a constitution of the properties of these wants from the distribution of the see some from the distribution of the post of flesh had nothed as a temporal or there are a wanted no last sive eves seeing how weak he was Dr Baktah remembered.

We recorded Onethal as helore subset after about four hours driving. The Residency had been cleared of all visitors, and we difficed him on stretcher to his bed-room on the first floor . . . I examined us place and for addition to the freeight heat assumed in place and he about it in his place in the characters of the orderston of the pourcey and hoped it would disappear with rest. . Next morning, types the lath was the American of the establishment it has stan. We materially the American of the establishment it has stan. We materially the first standard to contain the place of the establishment in his standard visit of the establishment in his standard visit of the establishment in the countries. I said "Sir, we are very nor until I have grouply to addit you from Zhazat in such a week state ." The Quard-i-Azam smalled, saying, "Tes, I am glad you have brought in a least of surface."

A statement possible data morning in Panistures days new spapers was orbited the Criard's Azar's "Mossage" to the "Critorius of Facilia" but was obvious, composed in Karrich not Zarat.

Today we are celebrating the first anniversary of our freedom. We have faced the v r with could get let remark an add a and b, and the record of our schlevements has been a wonderful one in warding off the knows of the enemy. . . I congrabulate you all—my Ministers under the leadership of the Prime Minister.

Januah had written none of B, of course, He wrote nothing any longer and bately glucced at the morning newspapers. How remote that glorious or the state of the s

versary the air ranging with shouts of "Pakistan Zinduhod" and his most pressing fear of death their from an unknown assessin's builet. The countless "traps" set for him, some based so handsomely provincial governor prime anaster langishood be had obtained to them at Diagors guns, bonds all of them had missed the Grey Wolf He had proved I mise too fast, too clusive, too strong for them

The third week. A gust Janah's a metale a proved slight he asked for halva and purees, two deleasers his duster initially had feared might be too. That "far him to discuss hat Patina wisely addition on the sound to cheer him up. The discuss tried to ge, him to move as a size as possible he atting him up to be dust in meast then standing him on his feet a ning and a bit testing to keep his meast then standing him on his feet animage and a bit testing to keep his meast from attributing in a distribution of the clied at everyone to not being in our "pulses he and hadring assumed him his agreement attached great deal or in portained to muchoutiff and, bad a hirs his been most prinched hims lift "to been most prinched hims lift".

Jamales doctor was shocked to bed that his patter is glied cilly gibts pounds. It was clear to all thane at the Quara Aza as beds in that if so was ever to retain above to be capital in we like the to be have back there very soon Jamah asked for promise on to require studied. He had moved an average of fifty or or or reference A cigarettes a day over he last that years. The doctor print of the back in engagette is that ordering my not to inhare. Soon however Bakhist agreed to double his "retion"

It did us good to see him enjoying it, . . . since in a habitual smoker the first sign of recovery was committed a war to all analyse as and pleasure in smoking . . . Next morning I noticed four cigarette stumps in the ashtray on the table by his bedside . . . the patient had exceeded his allowance . . . Looking at the ashtray, I remarked that I cappeared to ave enjoyed his digarettes. If Quid Adel took the his and ingenerals here and Ven hit color to us to recover a no harm in smoking if I didn't inhale?" . . . his mind was regaining its old legal quality, and we welcomed this additional sign of recovery.

act c smok del at body heal his sange, bowever so the doctors conmined advising him to moderate his smoking and return to Karachi. But a hidd not want to go "bouse" to the governor-general's mansion as an invalid." He suggested a few quieter places on the plains. Sibi and Malir, the state of the supported in the plains.

He said to Bukhah. "Due take use to karseld on cratcher I want to go there when I can walk from the ear to my room. You know, from the rorch you have to pass the ADC s room and then the Militars Secretars s be fore you reach rune. I disake being carried in a stretcher from the car to my room. He wanted again of his hard is staff to ser him this was down as to stand a Jonach practically stopped eating after August 25 and whenever Barkass ruged from rootake score food he was stold. Doctor on are overseed ig me I have never taken so much food he for even when I was quite well. Some ears seen we had a Furopean diplomation has not not Bomons. I clin not take he score when it was served. I not really he radiusly persugate was not one of some When he had was foreight he retired that not I was supplied he retired that not I was supplied he had to well to be able to the staff of the post representation of the absolute to the food of the head of the second of the staff of the food of the head of the head of the staff of the food of the staff of the staff

Jonah avec of a few spiret tea and coffee and some plan water to switch the pulsation on any read in the a day others aparties at the recent "Foo Lar no anger is ested in using the somer, go the networm of the content of the day at native whether I live and "in the Risk shound guest 29 Bookshourd editors a historia and was started a charge visition of tecting in one generally upon as uncomortional and ambending. It had always felt that he have a kept going loop is the own started by an endounter will show the foo as a network of the whom a patient going the Bijts no restaurity anowerer perfect and dark in track on was the fore greatly discussed to find that the man of iron will had given up the Bight.

By Septen her Jisha has previously were as liber of loss one of the land life emperature rose to about 100 or his acts of propositionals, higher and his hearthean was record or his acts of propositionals, higher and his hearthean was record of the same and his part or at the logal or was tables to a 1h Husshaw of the Mayor Clore in Mannes to this immediate to the about or consultationals. Bakkish also sent of Dr. M. A. Matter from k. a. Mastry arrived the rest morrita, Suptember 9 Mastry and Bakkish also sent of Dr. M. A. Matter from k. a. Mastry arrived the rest morrita, Suptember 19 Mastry and Bakkish also sent of Dr. M. A. Matter from k. a. Mastry arrived the rest morrita, Suptember 19 Mastry and Bakkish also sent of Dr. M. A. Matter from k. a. Mastry has 1 has a 19 Mastry and Bakkish also sent of Dr. M. A. Matter from k. a. Mastry has a 19 Mastry and Bakkish also sent of Dr. M. A. Mastry from the formal sent of the land of t

The governor general's Viking seal two Dakota airplance to carry in

staff and luggage arrived at Quetta airport and were ready to take off by 2500 mai, on September II, 1948, "As his stretcher was taken into the Viking scabin. Fatmar rece ared," the plot and new lines aprama solution had been improvised in the lie in turn lifted his hand feably. . . A hed had been improvised in the front cabin and I sal with him along with Dr. M. stry. . Oxygen cylinders and a gas mask were ready. . After about two hours flying, we landed at the A r Force base at Mannipor at 4.15 in. Here to had hinded out over a year ago, fin. of hops and undidence that he would say hold pakistics into a great nation. Then the saids had brouged one onat I m. But today, as instructed. I there was no one at the airport. Colonel knowles—greated us as we came out of the plane." Knowles was Jinualis—itary societary and had brought the army ambulance into which the general variance of his stretter. I are a and a Quetta many Sater Dunkan sat payle to read of the stretches and a fundamental while the coast as tolow. I he gas more by new End I is knowned.

"After we had covered about our or the rows the normalizate engaged and or a time on step. Five a cases at the row or ad, "I get out or let a total or a out of retract the one rows as object or with the engage. Our was no bronze and the basend need was opposed. To add to bus discretifier to rese of these times the stead of the most state. The arms and I farmed have the steaght to a skille most state. Decrease and I farmed have first consistent of another ambulance to arrive.

I sees no rule was a refer to or agon. I could not be suffed to the

Cardillac as it was not big enough for the stretcher "16

Wandering which ad impressed assets Bakhs. If got not und found that there had been threats as a close one go in tracible the low mass and contain the would some undig to the hidded with the engine for about twenty mer toos and he ambs mer would not shart. Mass Jiman's seat the Military Survey to to the ambilities. A bin and Dr. Mastre went survey to

I came and the metals and we boreful to fine its pulse according weaker and line during the metals and image back a thereas flask containing hot ten. Miss firmal quickly gave him a cop. . What a catastrophe is having since the allower could be to the road side.

It was a onel not be of spival energy so the roward Korachi. Noted by the series and the roward that he roward that their Quaid, who had not the series as something that their Quaid, who had not the series as something that their Quaid, who had not the series as something to the series as something that their series as something the roward to the series as the series and the roward to the roward to the series and the series and the series are series and no bount to my the has been so long and full of augment.

Quadic Azam Jinnah died at 10.20 nation September 11, 948. An that remained of him weighed ones, seem to pour its. Wrapped at a somice strough he was himed tall at the in Kinch where a handsome council month read of an kinch of now stands history the remains of one of his tory simply remarkable transcolusioning major the highest

but a flower, who inherites most of her brothers estate remained in Passaine ril how steatt on July 9, 1967. In 1969-200, Lie Midder of Midder ("Mother of the Nation" true to follow in her brothers solition between a struct in for mession of Discourant against Earle Miles. As it for the line is ampaign as the can also for As has been disprounded with great a sport in the east but she was defined been as of Asial's Lasic composing. It clin the after the charter that she is street her focus at Lee of his rows substants, among line for each to the street seed of clinic line of the rows substants, among line is east to street seed out effecting on the remarkable man to whom she had divided between

Jimnah's daughter Dina never joined her father in Pakistan while is lived; she came to Karachi only for his funeral. When Dina married Neve Wadia, a Pars -born Christian, Jimnah treed his best to dismade her, got almost as far as for Dosshaw Petr, and with as largetire to John Christian, Jimnah and with as largetire to John Christian in Jimnah, in his usual imperious manner told her that there were militure of Markon rys in India and she could have about she chosen the voung shy who was note than a usual or to ather to the Father there were medium of Markon and the park in Lada. Who is a count marry one of them?" "I Jimnah never apoke to his daughter after she married And though they did correspond he was a local of the married And though they did correspond he was a local of the married and never talked of her to his friends, insisting sudeed that he had "no daughter "22"

Dyna and Novembra Lance of a nonnegative of the control by a summiffer two extremes and so the summer of the control of the control of the summer of the control o

his son Nush who chairs the board of Wadia Industries. Ltd. and has two sons Jinnah's only zeed jundetisldiren who ave in Bumbay as charens of India. Dina and Noville had a daughter as well, who apparently lives in Mimhattan as something of a "recluse" but was "too young to remember Jinnah' and saw little on lime according to her father Nev lie Wadia left India after divors.

Dring gooding to her father Nev lie Wadia left India after divors.

Dring gooding to reside a "Switzerland Dring moved to New York Cite and rechalone in a sprouded apprehension Middle son Avenue until at leas. 1952. Thus, none of Jinnah's direct descendants ever opted for Pak stan.

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55. Ibid., p. 867.

56. Ibid., p. 866. This was clearly Jinnah's position from the start Wavell's account of it is jumbled and inaccurate, where he first notes (June 11) 1946, Moon, Wacell, p. 290) that "Cripps has spent several hours with Jionah ball night and said that he had agreed to this." (By "this" was meant a meeting and Nehru.) The viceroy later wrote in his journal (Moon, Wavell, p. 292). 3:40 P.M., when I was due to see Nehru and Jinnah at 4 P.M., Cripps came in and told me that Jinnah would not come; he had written a letter earlier to any that he did not feel he could meet Nehra, unless the parity basis was conceiled With so much changing every hour those days, Wavell obviously found it is possible to keep clear in his mind the exact sequence of events, even with diary notes.

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"Provincialism, A Curse," June 15, 1948, ibid., pp. 156-58.

22. Jinnah, "My Brother." The following quotes are from ibid. 23. Ilahi Bakhsh, With the Quaid-i-Azam During His Last Days (Kurachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1978), p. 2. The following quotes are from ibid., pp. 3-5.

24 Ibid., p. 5.

25. Ibid., p. 8. The following quotes are from ibid., pp. 9-10.

26. Pirzada, "Last Days of the Quaid," p. 6.

27. Bakhsh, Last Days, p. 11. The following quote is from ibid., p. 15.

28. Jinnah, "My Brother."

29. Bakhsh, Last Days, pp. 18-19. 30. August 14, 1948. Quaid-e-Azam Speaks, pp. 247-49.

31. Bakhsh, Last Days, p. 24. The following quote is from foid., p. 25.

32. Ibid., p. 26,

33. Ibid., pp. 28-31.

34. Ibid., pp. 32-33. 35. Wire no. 405, September 1948, Zaidi, Correspondence, p. 617.

38. Bakhsh, Last Days, p. 40. 37. Jinuah, "My Brother."

38. Ibid.

39. Bakhsh, Last Days, pp. 47-48.

40. Jinnah, "My Brother.

41. Chagla, Roses in December, p. 120.

42. Lady Rama Rao's recollection in an interview with the author in Los Angeles, 1979.